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Baltic Military Commanders Urge Combined Efforts

LD1911190493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The republic's president received today Latvian Defense Forces Commander Colonel Dainis Turlajs, Lithuanian Armed Forces Commander Col. Jonas Andriskevicius, Estonian defense forces Commander Major General Aleksander Einseln, and Estonian Chief of Staff Col. Ants Laaneots.

Estonian Radio was told by the president's administrative office that the need for a joint Baltic defense policy had been discussed at the conference. Estonia and Latvia will continue their coordinated work toward foreign troop withdrawal from these countries. Lithuanian problems amount to tensions in the southwestern part of the country, near Kaliningrad. It was acknowledged at the meeting that the Baltic countries need a so-called Baltic NATO. The Baltic countries must combine their efforts so as to achieve effective cooperation with the border guards and the defense forces. A full control of the Baltic states' borders is the most important precondition in the fight against crime, the republican president emphasized. Crime endangers every Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, and moreover, it may endanger how seriously we are taken as countries as well as the international reputation of the Baltic countries as reliable partners.

This is what the official statement from the president's administrative office says.

Peacekeeping Battalion Discussed

LD2211132093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] The republican president today received Colonel Dainis Turlajs, Latvian Defense Forces Commander;, Colonel Jonas Andriskevicius, Lithuanian Armed Forces commander; Major General Aleksandr Einseln, Estonian Defense Forces commander; and Colonel Ants Laaneots, the chief of staff. [passage omitted]

According to the latest issue of the BALTIC INDEPENDENT newspaper, the idea, unprecedented so far, of setting up a joint Baltic peacekeeping battalion within the UN peacekeeping forces was discussed. According to Maj. Gen. Aleksandr Einseln, such a military contingent would be made up of 600 to 800 men. It must be ready by next fall for peacekeeping duties in any crisis points across the globe.

According to the newspaper, Maj. Gen. Einseln intends to ask the United Nations that the Baltic peacekeeping unit be deployed on the territory of the former USSR.

General Staff Charges Hard Currency for Internal Papers

MK2011120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 81, 20 Nov 93 (Signed to press 19 Nov) p 2

[Anatoliy Veslo report under the "Progress" rubric: "A Market Initiative by the CIS Joint Armed Forces General Staff"]

[Text] "For the first time in the history of the newly independent states you have been offered analytical material that covers to an unprecedentedly full extent the goals, principles, essence, and practical activity of the CIS Joint Armed Forces [JAF] Main Command from the moment of its inception." This is a quotation from an advertisement booklet published by the Center for Information and Analytical Support of the Commonwealth States designed for those wishing to procure the JAF commander in chief's September 1993 report, "To Security Through the Commonwealth." The unprecedented material has been distributed in a somewhat unprecedented fashion, too: an 80-page reprinted short version in Russian costing $299 and a 150-page abridged version for $498. Also on sale are excerpts from the report in English and an unabridged English version. The center plans to expand its hard-currency operations by selling "systematized selections of enforceable materials" and biographical information on top military commanders of the CIS countries. An unprecedented full edition in English of around 600 pages will cost as much as $1,765.

Moreover, the new market structure offers "express delivery" to Moscow within 24 hours for a paltry $50. Upon the receipt of materials ordered, one would pay cash at once because charging the unprecedented material has not been foreseen.

Let us leave to skeptics and alarmists the pedestrian questions such as: On what legal grounds does the center, which is financed from the Commonwealth countries' budgets, carry out this hard-currency commercial activity? On what and for what purposes do they spend their modest hard-currency earnings? Have the commander in chief's intellectual property rights been fully protected and hasn't his subordinates' commendable resourcefulness put him at a financial disadvantage? The prevailing emotion at the sight of the aforementioned booklet gives a feeling of deep satisfaction at the irreversible penetration of market relations into all pores of political and state life, even into places where "the pores" had not been foreseen in principle. The only piece of advice one could give to our joint top brass and people of related professions is: Do not waste your time on trifles! Messrs. officers, think big—for instance, why don't you put commercial advertisements on tanks and armored personnel carriers, on the hulls of strategic bombers, on those ample uniforms, on hat bands? For hard currency, of course. The shadow of self-accounting is roaming the General Staff. Do not scare it away!

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Nov

LD2011064693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0613 GMT 20 Nov 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 20 ITAR-TASS—The electoral campaign continues to be in the focus of attention of the Russian press.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that, according to results of the analysis of the documents for the registration of candidates to the state duma and the federation council, that came before November 19, 22 per cent of candidates to the new Russian parliament are representatives of joint-stock companies, associations, corporations and various foundations. 23 per cent are heads or deputy heads of administration. The share of bankers is surprisingly low, only 2 per cent. "There are many people willing to run for parliament, but money is the problem. Or, to be more exact, it is the delays with the allocation of money from the state resources that create the problem," the newspaper writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes about the political advertising of electoral blocs, that appeared recently on TV, and its social orientation. For instance, Russia's Choice is trying to enlist the support of the comparatively young part of the electorate. "But in this country it is not the youth, or young people in general, who are the most active electors," the newspaper points out. At the same time, the laconic and not quite clear advertising campaign of Nikolay Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia under the slogan "It is better with us" is actually "nothing but an appeal to get one's bearings in the current situation as easily as the leader of the party."

"The new constitution guarantees the integrity of the country," Leonid Smirnyagin, member of the presidential council and a well- known specialist in political geography, believes. In an interview, published by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today, he calls attention to the regional problems of the Russian Federation. Remainding that the declaration of sovereignty of Russia, adopted on June 12, 1990, contained the words about the supremacy of laws of the Russian Federation over those of the Soviet Union, Smirnyagin explains that "this actually turned the USSR into a confederation ... Now we are facing the same process inside Russia. This is the direct way towards the disintegration of the state. The constitution is the only thing that can save it." According to Smirnyagin, the draft of the new constitution sets the limits of statehood of each region, but other ways are also possible, and they remain to be discussed.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on the ratification by the Ukrainian parliament of one of the most important documents—the START-1 treaty, as well as major reservations, made by it. "Now it is clear that Ukraine has made a decision in favour of its participation in the nuclear disarmament process, but it tried to get from it as much benefit—political, material, financial and technical—as possible," the newspaper writes.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI publishes today a statement of the Council of Ministers—government of the Russian Federation about the economic policy late in 1993 and 1994. "The most urgent measuers will be aimed at bringing down inflation, stabilising production, increasing the volume of investments and speeding up structural transformations. The main task is to reduce inflation to 15 per cent in January and to 3-5 per cent by December 1994, which is an indispensable condition for encouraging investments and production."

The newspaper carries an article entitled "Where the Federation Council Will Come From", which analyses the draft constitution. "The mechanism of the formation of the Federation Council is unclear. Article 95 of the draft constitution (item 2) says that it will include two representatives from each subject of the Russian Federation—one from the executive and one from the legislative branch. But how exactly will the federation council be formed, if the draft constitution makes no mention of the federal constitutional law, which is to regulate this process? The impression is that the election principle of the formation of the federation council, recorded in the draft constitution until recently, was better than the co-optation principle," The newspaper writes.

On the eve of the traditional peasant holiday, Russian Minister of Agriculture Khlystun gave an interview to SELSKAYA ZHIZN. Touching upon the presidential decree on the land reform, he pointed out that one should not fear that many peasants will lose land and become hired farm-hands, that farm lands will be bought by the new rich. "We are now drafting regulations on contests and auctions, which will include the principle tested by world practice: Only people with agricultural education and the experience of work in the agricultural sector will be allowed to take part in auctions. It is worth recalling in this connection that the committee on land resources and land management is actually becoming a state inspectorate body," Khlystun said.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI held a public opiniion poll among representatives of various political parties, asking them only one question: "Whom would you like to see as the speaker of parliament?" Commenting on the results of the public opinion poll, the newspaper writes that most of them would like a representative of their party to be chairman of the State Duma and the Federation Council. Russia's Choice refused to name its candidate. In the opinion of the newspaper, this shows that, first, the struggle between political parties for the post of the speaker will be rather acute and, second, Russia's Choice is "so sure of the absolute support of electors that they do not doubt: The speaker will be a representative of their bloc."

Reviews Itogi, Voskresenye Programs

LD2211094793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0616 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 22 ITAR-TASS—Preparations for the upcoming elections to the Federal Assembly and discussions of the new constitution to be put to a national vote on December 12 were among the central themes of the Sunday issues of television analytical programme's Itogi (independent television) and Voskresenye (Sunday) of Channel One of the Ostankino Television and Radio Broadcasting Company.

Itogi host Yevgeniy Kiselev recalled that the registration of candidates for seats in Russia's new parliament ended last week and said that according to preliminary data, six candidates will run for each of the 224 seats in the State Duma, the lower chamber of Russia's new legislature, the Federal Assembly. Elections to the Duma will be held on the basis of a majority system in 224 one-seat constituencies. No registration has been held in constituency 225—the Chechen Republic.

The Voskresenye host, Sergey Alekseyev said "curious information" was spread in Moscow on Sunday alleging that "the chances of democrats to win a majority in the State Duma can be called into question". "In constituencies where one deputy is to be elected to represent 500,000 inhabitants one candidates has been nominated by nationalist communists and two or three by democrats. In this way the democrats, who pulverise their forces, may lose," Alekseyev said. However, immediately after, he quoted a source in the Central Electoral Commission as saying that "it is premature to analyse the line-up of forces at this phase of the electoral campaign".

According to a nationwide poll conducted by the Obshestvennoye Mnenie (Public Opinion) foundation, twenty days before the elections the voters' preferences look as follows: the Russia's Choice bloc comes first with 16 per cent of those polled intending to vote in favour of this bloc (four per cent more than a week ago). The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc comes second with eight per cent of the respondents declaring their intention to cast their ballots in favour of this bloc (just as many as a week ago). The Communist Party of the Russian Federation ranks third, being favoured by five per cent of the respondents.

"The leaders remain the same but their leadership is rather relative as before with each of them enjoying the support of a thin layer of the voters' corps", the Itogi host said in a comment on the results of the survey conducted among 1,200 inhabitants of fifteen different-size cities and towns of Russia.

"Only a minority of the population has definite political orientations, these being strongly polarised," said Kirill Kholodkovskiy, head of the Centre for Comparative Social and Political Studies at the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations. People favour either "the radical democrats" from among the presidential team members or the "irreconcilable opposition". Most people appear to trust neither the first nor the last. According to Kholodkovskiy, "there is a feeling that reforms are not proceeding as they should", but at the same time "there is no clear-cut, definitive and realistic alternative and there is no ground for any centrist versions".

Kiselev said that over the past few weeks "the electoral associations which claim much, almost the role of the ruling party for themselves, in actual fact have not yet reached the five per cent barrier established by the rules for the forthcoming elections, without clearing which they will not be able to get a single seat in the parliament". (Kiselev was evidently referring to Sergey Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord, whose rating has dwindled among the voters).

Another expert Georgiy Satarov, who heads the centre Indem, Informatics for Democracy, believes that "the president's supporters from two or three blocs, are unlikely to win a majority in the future parliament judging by party lists alone".

Satarov was speaking on the basis of a survey conducted by his centre. "The possibility of constructive and productive work will depend to a large extent on the president himself, on what he will have to offer the new legislature and future deputies as far as the substance of the work and mechanism of coordinating interests is concerned, as well as a new atmosphere and new political tradition," the expert said.

The main thing in reforms now is to give them a social orientation, according to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. "We are not carrying out reforms for the sake of reforms but so as to make everything closer to the individual," Russian premier said in an interview with Itogi.

Responding to a question about whether he has become a moninotorist, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that he had always dealt with these problems because "an economic manager cannot but take up financial problems at present". The premier confirmed his stand "outside politics in the electoral campaign" and to show no preference and support for anyone during the race. Along with this he noted that if after the State Duma is elected, another race will begin involving the premier and the government, it would hardly do any good to the ailing Russian economy. "No normal policy is possible without a thought-out, serious economy," the prime minister stressed.

As concerns his relations with the president, Viktor Chernomyrdin said they are both "people of the same time, of the same upbringing". "I now feel full support in raising questions and carrying out our measures," he stressed. According to the premier, this attitude on the part of the president gives him very much. He meets the president at least once a week on appointment. As a rule, such meetings last from one to two hours.

Itogi cited the results of recent poll on the voters' attitude to the draft constitution which will be put to a nationwide referendum on December 12. According to the Public Opinion Foundation, 49 per cent of those polled have not yet made up their minds as to whether they will vote for or against the new constitution. Only 24 per cent of the respondents said they would vote for, only ten per cent said they would cast their ballots against the new constitution and 17 per cent said they would not take part in the referendum. According to the same survey, only 25 per cent of those polled said they had read the draft of the new constitution, while the other 75 per cent had had no time to look through it.

Voskresenye presented reports and interviews clarifying certain clauses of the draft constitution, particularly those concerning private land property, military duty and other.

Itogi reported on russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's recent visits to Central Asian republics and on Ukraine's ratification of SALT-1 [as received].

Kozyrev Condemns Attack on Envoy in Azerbaijan

LD2011190893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1819 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev made the following statement on Saturday [20 November]:

"Today during the crossing of the Azerbaijani-Armenian border the car of special envoy of the Russian president, Ambassador Vladimir N. Kazimirov and the accompanying officials came under large-caliber gun fire from the Armenian side. As a result, Azerbaijani servicemen who accompanied Kazimirov were injured.

Ambassador Kazimirov is in the region on a peace mission. I personally agreed his trips to Baku, Yerevan and Stepanakert with the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan on Boris Yeltsin's instruction.

This barbaric action against the Russian representative causes outrage and cannot be justified. Official explanations need to be made. After studying the circumstances of the incident, the leadership of Russia will make the most serious and, I think, strong conclusions."

The car came under automatic gun and artillery fire at 11:00 when after the completion of talks in Baku the Russian envoy was heading from the Kazakh district of Azerbaijan for Armenia. The shots were fired from the Armenian-controlled village of Ashagy Askipara, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS.

Ministry officials said the Armenian side had been informed about Kazimirov's visit beforehand. Kazimirov has been in the region for a week to mediate peace talks between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

After the attack the delegation canceled the trip and is currently staying in Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry described the incident as an "action aimed at thwarting a very important move to reach peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict."

Warns Armenia over Incident

LD2211110493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—"The thing in question is an incident of extraordinary nature I have an impression that it is not a simple accident but that it is politically motivated," Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev told a press conference devoted to the incident in Nagorno-Karabakh, where a special envoy of the Russian president was attacked on November 20. [sentence as received]

The Russian presidential envoy involved was Vladimir Kazimirov, an ambassador at large, who was travelling with other officials in Nagorno-Karabakh last Saturday. Andrey Kozyrev stressed that Moscow demanded an immediate public apology from Armenia's top leaders and guarantees that the security of Russian representatives would be impeccably ensured in the future when on official missions in the region. He said the explanation presented the minister of foreign affairs of Armenia was "a vague statement on paper", which the Russian side cannot accept.

"We will toughly protect the interests of the Russian-speaking population wherever they are threatened. Attempts at our representatives will be automatically regarded as an unfriendly act and the most resolute measures will be taken where no prompt and definite response is manifested aimed at setting things straight. I can assure you that the most resolute measures will not be long in coming in this case," Kozyrev said.

Urges Security Guarantees From Armenia

LD2211113893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Russia does not refuse to continue its peace-making mission in Nagorno-Karabakh because of the incident (which involved the Russian president's special envoy to the region and other officials last Saturday), Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey kozyrev said in response to questions from journalists.

However, he stressed that the leadership of Armenia and other participants in the settlement of the conflict must guarantee security and necessary conditions for carrying out the mediatory mission, particularly since it is being implemented on the basis of requests from the supreme leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

"I hope that this incident will help our partners realise certain realities. The parties involved in the conflict, including armenia, may have already exhausted the limit of actions which threaten direct damage not only to the population of the region but to the national and state interests of Russia, Kozyrev said.

Responding to another question, the minister stressed that "a limit exists after which a mediating mission can outgrow talks and evolve into something else".

Kozyrev Comments on Foreign Policy Issues

LD2011193493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has flatly refuted some Western allegations that President Boris Yeltsin "is a hostage of the Army" today. This "new myth" about Yeltsin is based on the fact that the Army supported him during the events on October 3-4.

In fact, Kozyrev noted at a meeting with media leaders on Friday, the president fully controlled the activities of all state structures.

He admitted that the Foreign Ministry was not the only government body, handling foreign policy. "The armed forces have foreign policy of their own, and as in many advanced democracies, the views of the foreign minister and the defence minister on foreign policy not always coincide", he stressed. For instance, he added, the Foreign Ministry feels that there must be Russian military presence in Bosnia, whereas the Defence Department objects to that. "Our view is that Russia should not leave the regions it has developed for ages. There is no vacuum in politics, if we go, others will come. But no one can guarantee that they will be sufficiently civilized. If that happened, Russia's national interests and population would be really at risk", Kozyrev warned.

At the same time, he voiced understanding for the position of the Army generals who in their decision-making on various operations must take many specific factors into account.

In his opinion, differences on major foreign and domestic policy issues can be reconciled in the Security Council, naturally, with a secretary to play the major role of a coordinator. A secretary, he went on to say, could be either "a super-strategist", able to calculate all political steps much farther than any statesman, or a good organizer. To begin with, a secretary rises "above all of us because of his strategic talent", but he can also be a good organizer, capable of finding a mutually acceptable solution to a problem. Kozyrev hopes that Oleg Lobov can become such "a good organizer."

He is convinced that despite all difficulties, Russia is still a great power, and its natural place in world affairs is among the eight industrialized countries.

"If the United States is pursuing its foreign policy through economic strength, we cannot do so and must build our relations so that politics would "make up for our weak economy", the minister believes.

He noted that former USSR republics still remained a zone of special interests and special responsibility for Russia. However, this responsibility should presuppose extensive cooperation with the newly-sovereign states rather than outright pressure against them. "We were wrong to think that the territory of the former USSR is still a common political entity. It is high time to speak not only about the appearance of individual states but about regional differences, the minister remarked.

Main Themes of Kozyrev Central Asia Visit Viewed

PM2211104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Boris Vinogradov report: "New Problems for Russia With Introduction of National Currencies in Asian CIS Countries"]

[Text] The beginning of Andrey Kozyrev's tour of the capitals of a number of Asian CIS countries coincided with two other events. On the same day Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan said good-bye to the ruble zone and embarked on an essentially inappropriate and discriminatory decision on the compulsory registration of arriving foreigners. This was a coincidence, but there was undoubtedly a certain symbolic element to it.

In terms of the big picture the head of the Russian foreign policy department drew a line under the past as regards the Central Asian republics and opened up a new chapter. Having cut their "ruble umbilical cord," Tashkent and Almaty have, as it were, finally elevated themselves to the rank of independent states.

The forecasts, when made, have been mostly pessimistic. Kazakhstan has been the more confident about entering the realms of currency freedom. During talks the Kazakhs have showed their character, being intractable on the question of the fate of the Semipalatinsk Test Range and the Baykonur Space Center. Almaty came up with the idea of setting up a trilateral agency involving Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine based on Baykonur. Nor was any mutual understanding reached on strategic weapons. Kazakhstan, judging by everything, now takes a position similar to that of Ukraine, clearly not wanting nuclear missiles to come under Russian jurisdiction.

It was also announced that, in connection with the worsening crisis, projects such as saving the Aral Sea, environmentally reviving areas around the Semipalatinsk Test Range, moving people out of contaminated areas, and so forth were shelved indefinitely. As was expected, the new economic realities have caused a considerable increase in migration by the Russian-speaking population.

The protection of the rights of the Russian citizens living in Asian CIS countries was the main, if not the only, subject of Kozyrev's talks during his trip. There was also interest in the trip in connection with the minister's recent statement that Russia is prepared to stand behind its citizens and will use all its power to that end, including economic sanctions and credit and financial policy. But at the first meeting with Islam Karimov it was hinted to the guest from Moscow that Uzbekistan would not accept a dictatorial tone in such a delicate sphere as the rights of citizens of another ethnic group and would prefer the path of equal dialogue.

Approximately the same understanding of the "question of Russian speakers" was evident in Almaty and Dushanbe, as a result of which the Russian minister, meeting with journalists, somewhat amended his former statement, calling the tactic of threats, intimidation, and economic pressure "cheap politics." Nonetheless, migration figures show that there has been no weakening in Russian citizens' yearning for their native power. This is also shown by the waiting lines outside Russian embassies.

During A. Kozyrev's consultations with his partners it is now generally believed that no policy of pressuring or expelling the Russian-speaking population from the Asian CIS states exists as such, but there are allegedly administrative problems which should be solved by a new nongovernmental organization due to be set up.

Tajikistan is essentially the only country that does not want to leave the ruble zone, turning itself into the "dumping ground" for hot Russian money from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Hundreds of billions of old and new rubles are now moving into the Tajik market, bypassing border controls and customs and increasing the tension in the money supply sphere. A. Kozyrev, passing on Boris Yeltsin's words, told E. Rakhmonov that Russia would not leave Tajikistan in the lurch. In this case it is a question not only of protecting the Tajik border but of substantially increasing economic aid.

Kozyrev on Ukraine's START I Ratification

LD2011180193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov—Even a first acquaintance with reports on the recent ratification of the START I Treaty by Ukraine's Supreme Council leaves a most alarming impression. This was stated today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, when he answered questions from ITAR-TASS and Russian Television's Vesti news program.

In effect, he emphasized, everything shows that Ukraine is declaring itself to be the possessor of the nuclear weapons located on its territory and is holding for itself the possibility of not totally eliminating these weapons within seven years, as the international commitments it has undertaken say.

On the other hand, it is not assuming the direct commitment to join, as soon as possible, the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons as a non-nuclear state. This is creating an extraordinarily serious situation for the whole system of international relations. First of all in Europe, for the first time in many decades, a legislative body of power has put forward the demand for the collapse of the international regime of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. At issue is the appearance of a new nuclear state, the minister stated.

Russia, Kozyrev pointed out, has stated many times its readiness to guarantee Ukraine's security. A great deal of work has been carried out in this area to transfer nuclear ammunition to Russian territory and to eliminate it without any threat to the environment. In essence, a foundation has been created for a mutually advantageous solution, first and foremost for Ukraine, of these issues that are being used as a pretext to postpone the adoption of a decision to evacuate all nuclear weapons from Ukraine.

The minister noted that the Russian leadership is seriously studying the situation that has come about and is maintaining constant contacts with other leading countries of the world, since Ukraine's actions have created conditions for a possible shake-up of the entire system of international relations.

In Kozyrev's words: Moscow has noted reports that the stance of the Ukrainian president and government on this important issue is different from the position taken by the Supreme Council. He has already had a detailed telephone conversation with his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko during which they agreed to continue contacts and mutual cooperation aimed at seeking approaches to resolving the situation that has arisen.

Strategic Missiles Chief Reaffirms Deterrent Role

PM1911174393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Video report by Viktor Tkachenko and Nikolay Zhukov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Tkachenko] [video shows missiles being brought out of silos] It is the fourth generation of strategic missiles which is on alert duty today. Will there be a fifth? What is it like for Russian missilemen serving in neighboring foreign countries—in Ukraine, for example, Kazakhstan, Belarus? The disintegration of the state mechanism is affecting everything including the well-being of the strategic missile forces, the number one branch of the Russian Armed Forces. At present, Russia's paratroopers, special purpose militia detachments, and crack special purpose forces are at the center of attention in the press. It is as if people have started to forget that today's hero is still the one who is the master of strategic nuclear missile weapons.

Bearing in mind the new military doctrine, what is the role of the missile forces?

[Aleksandr Volkov, first deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces] The role of the Strategic Rocket Forces is being preserved. They will continue to be an integral part of the strategic nuclear forces of our state, of our Armed Forces, which, in line with the new Military Doctrine, carry out the main task— and that is to deter any aggressor from unleashing war against Russia. [video shows missiles being conveyed from one area to another, military hardware, vehicles, Volkov]

Shokhin, Ukraine's Landyk Sign Cooperation Agreements

PM2211101593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report from "Focus of Attention" column]

[Text] Russian and Ukrainian government delegations headed by Russian Government Vice Premier Aleksandr

Shokhin and Ukrainian Government Vice Premier Valentin Landyk have signed two cooperation agreements in Moscow. The first provides for production and scientific and technical cooperation between enterprises of the defense sectors and the second provides for collaboration in the field of ship gas turbine building. Both documents are aimed at preserving the established production ties between the enterprises of these high-technology industries.

Government Briefing on Efforts To Stabilize Georgia

LD2011111993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] According to the press service of the Russian Federation embassy in the republic of Georgia, a briefing was held in Russia's Foreign Ministry Press Center. It was mentioned at the meeting that Russia's active efforts assisted a relative stabilization of the situation in Georgia. It was also mentioned at the briefing that problems in Georgia still remained but the peaceful action of Russia's Foreign Ministry facilitated the process of a not-too-easy search for political means of resolving the problem and normalizing the humanitarian situation before the upcoming winter.

Gromov Defends Troops' Presence in Tajikistan

LD1911170893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1549 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Russia's Deputy Defense Minister, Cl.[Colonel]-General Boris Gromov, categorically disagrees with those who believe that Russia must withdraw its troops from Tajikistan.

As Gromov said in an interview with Interfax, if Russian border guards leave the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, "the developments there will take a turn for the worse." "Tajikistan will not cease to exist as a sovereign state, but its face will alter. In consequence, there will be a lack of stability in Central Asia, and it will spread to Russia. In this way we would open channels for the flows of narcotics and weapons, and create another hotbed of tensions for ourselves," he said.

According to Russia's deputy defense minister, who was in command of the 40th Soviet Army and led its withdrawal from Afghanistan, "we must learn lessons from our recent past." "Unfortunately we are not too good at learning our political and economic lessons taught in Afghanistan," Gromov said.

According to him, Russia must induce the countries adjoining Tajikistan—Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan—to honor in full their commitment to guarding of the Tajik-Afghan border.

Nevertheless, General Gromov said, Russia and other CIS countries should not replace the Tajik leadership. "It so happens that we decide everything and conduct negotiations, while the Tajik leadership remains in the background. In the meantime our experience in Afghanistan shows that the leaders of Tajikistan must act independently. Otherwise each passing year will draw us nearer to the situation we had in Afghanistan, when we did everything for the Afghan leadership in every area," Gromov said.

With reference to the confrontation continuing in Afghanistan, Gromov said that Afghanistan "never existed as a unified state." "The orient is unpredictable. I don't think that "a great Uzbekistan" or "a great Tajikistan" will take shape in the near future and absorb the corresponding Uzbek- and Tajik-populated areas in Afghanistan. Everything will eventually depend on how sensibly the people leading these countries use their power," he said.

Latest Round of Military Talks With Moldova Ends

LD1911101693 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 18 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Russian and Moldovan military representatives have finished the latest round of their talks. A subject of discussion was the withdrawal of Russian forces from Moldova. Here is what our correspondent was told by Colonel Yuriy Tyurin, a staff member of the [Russian] Defense Ministry's directorate for implementing military cooperation programs.

[Begin Tyurin recording] Despite the fact that as a whole the talks were difficult we managed to reach a mutual understanding on questions relating to the joint use of the installations and equipment of the 778th Motor Vehicle Repair Works located in Bendery. We also managed to reach an agreement and give our delegation's approval for interaction in the sphere of inspections of Russian forces stationed in the territory of Moldova in the light of the SALT treaty and the Vienna document of 1992. In addition we managed to approve a draft agreement on the transportation of troops and military cargoes out of the territory of Moldova and mutual payments for them.

Questions relating to practical aspects of the withdrawal of the Russian army from Moldova still remain unresolved. Work is still proceeding with difficulty on the preparation of a draft agreement on material and financial problems—first and foremost the terms for selling the immovable property to remain in the territory of Moldova and also on Moldova's businesslike participation in the settlement of the units and formations being withdrawn at their new locations. The impression is being created that the Moldovan side is striving to avoid any of the outlay required for the practical organization of the troops' withdrawal and intends to use for these purposes only funds that it receives as a result of the sale of the property left to it after the division of the property of the units and subunits of the 14th Army being withdrawn to Russian territory.

An attempt by the Moldovan side to raise the question of some or other, let me call it, material loss inflicted on Moldova as a result of the presence in its territory of the forces of the former USSR and Russia came as a complete surprise to us at this round of the talks. [end recording]

Another fundamental issue is the dates for the withdrawal. Moldova has been talking about next summer, but what is the attitude of the Russian side?

[Begin Tyurin recording] We presented the Moldovan side with the calculations that prevent us withdrawing our forces from Moldova within the indicated timescale. In arriving at these calculations the [Russian] Defense Ministry highlighted three aspects—namely, the social, financial, and technical aspects. As regards the social aspect the withdrawal of the servicemen of the 14th Army to the territory of the Russian Federation, especially its officers and warrant officers, this will be possible only when well-appointed housing is available at their new locations. The transportation of the troops will require over 14 billion rubles and their settlement about 44 billion rubles, but these prices are calcula [illegible] they stood at the beginning of August 1993. [end [illegible]ing]

Chernomyrdin Comments on Lithuania Visit

LD1911162893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1312 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian press highly appraises Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Here is a brief interview Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin gave to Valeriy Kiosa, our observer, on the airfield.

[Begin Chernomyrdin recording] The visit was unusually short but very intensive. We signed ten documents, and came to agreements on and gave instructions about an equal number of issues. We made a real breakthrough today, a breakthrough in our relations. As I see it, the main thing for us, the governments of both Russia and Lithuania, now is to launch this mechanism.

Nobody compelled us, we are not carrying out anybody's commissions or instructions. We have come to this stage in full awareness. We have done what we are prepared to do today. I think that we are prepared to do even more. Instead of building up fences, we should today think of how to dismantle those barriers to our cooperation that we have already erected. This is the main point of our relations today. I am convinced that even this year we will manage to do more to expand our relations. [passage omitted]

Chernomyrdin Favors Lithuania-Kaliningrad Free Trade Agreement

LD2011115793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The head of the Kaliningrad region administration, Yuriy Matochkin, claims that, in spite of the opposition by the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin supports the signing of a free trade agreement between Lithuania and Kaliningrad region.

Yuriy Matochkin said at a news conference that the prime minister had issued instructions to prepare, within the first three months of next year, documents essential for a corresponding edict by the Russian president.

The head of the Kaliningrad region administration conveyed to journalists the words of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that the most favorable trade regime with Lithuania should be developed and a free trade status achieved. Great importance in the implementation of this aim is attached to Kaliningrad region which, according to the prime minister, making use of its unique geopolitical situation and its special importance to Russia, has to prepare a mechanism to implement such a regime in practice.

Commenting on the results of the meeting of the Russian and Lithuanian Government delegations in Vilnius, Yuriy Matochkin called the signed agreements a turning point in Russian-Lithuanian relations.

'Crisis' in Relations With Kazakhstan Detailed

MK2011124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Vitaliy Portnikov from the "Situation" column: "Nazarbayev's Diplomatic Affliction. Kazakhstan's President Is Going to Moscow"]

[Text] The canceled meeting between Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in Almaty, has demonstrated, better than any rhetoric, the crisis in Russian-Kazakhstan relations, which were aggravated following Russia's refusal to supply Kazakhstan with new-issue rubles. Nazarbayev's nonparticipation in talks with Kozyrev was attributed to the illness of the Kazakhstan president who on the following day safely went on a tour of the country. Now Nursultan Abishevich is going to Moscow to meet with Boris Nikolayevich. Apparently in the course of the upcoming meeting the presidents will manage to reach the coveted mutual understanding, but it will hardly be reflected on the governmental level. Especially since the "parachute" of the new Kazakh currency has already been opened. Before pulling the cords, Kazakhstan Premier Sergey Tereshchenko also went to Moscow to meet with Viktor Chernomyrdin—and so what? The Russian-Kazakhstan negotiations have been going on continuously ever since but it has already become clear both in Moscow and in

Almaty that this efficiently working negotiating machine should be moved to another level of the Commonwealth's "mansion"—from the brightly lit people's friendship hall to a dark attic where the machines to reproduce Russian-Ukrainian, Russian-Georgian, and other friendships are already gathering dust.

Russian-Kazakhstan relations have finally become interstate, which has happened in spite of the international efforts by President Nazarbayev. A new tonality of these relations is shown by, among other things, the very subject of Andrey Kozyrev's talks in Kazakhstan's capital—on the fate of the country's Russian-speaking population. And by the fact that Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko in a rather surprise move, given the entire previous tactics by the Kazakhstan leaders, has reminded the Moscow visitor about the Kazakhs living in the Russian Federation. Incidentally, should Kazakhstan want to defend not only them but also the entire Turkic population of Russia (after all, Moscow, too, is concerned not only about Russians, but also Ukrainians and Belarusians), then the Kremlin may easily observe how dangerous any Russian-Kazakhstan contradictions are not only for Kazakhstan statehood, but also for the Russian one.

With the introduction of national currencies by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Russia has found itself in a peculiar situation. The point is not the Kazakhstan president's nonexistent grudge, but the collapse of the trends toward voluntary integration within the CIS elite. Now, even if integration continues, this will happen not through the goodwill of Karimov or Nazarbayev, but under economic pressure from Russia.

The conflicts within the Russian leadership itself around the refusal to supply Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan with new rubles should not be discounted either. The rejection of this move by Central Bank Board Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko clearly demonstrates that the current financial policy of the Russian Government is not immune to new interpretations to the effect that in their appeals to President Yeltsin, his Central Asian colleagues will rely not only on their own opinion but also on their powerful "lobby" in Moscow. What will be involved here, however, will be further zigzags in economic interrelations. So far the Russian ruble (given the well-known demands made by the Russian Federation Government on the supply of cash) is turning from a symbol of integration into a symbol of protectionism and general instability, and against this backdrop the fact that Tajikistan will be the sole state staying within "the new-type ruble zone" looks increasingly eloquent.

Yeltin Adviser Filatov Arrives in Washington

LD2111004293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2345 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] Washington, 21 Nov—S.A. Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, arrived here on 20 November. During his stay in the capital, he will meet U.S. Vice President A. Gore, high- ranking representatives of the White House and State Department and top officials of the Congress. He will also meet businessmen and members of the public.

This is a purely working visit, Filatov told ITAR-TASS. It is taking place at the invitation of the U.S. Administration. We intend to exchange views on various aspects of the situation in Russia and the United States and get to know how the presidential structure works since we have just started to set up a similar structure in our country. Therefore, it is necessary to agree on cooperation. Filatov also said preparations for a visit by Gore and President Clinton to Moscow would be also discussed.

Credit Agreements With Ex-USSR Republics Listed

LD1911190693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1904 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The chairman of Russia's press service has circulated a list of intergovernmental agreements between the Russian Federation and states which are former republics of the USSR. These agreements have been ratified by decree of the Russian Federation president.

1. An agreement between the Russian and Georgian governments on a state credit for 1993, signed on 15 September 1993 in Moscow.

2. An agreement between the Russian and Georgian governments on rescheduling the debt in technical credits as a state credit to the Georgian Government, signed on 15 September 1993.

3. An agreement between the Russian and Kazakh governments on a state credit for 1993, signed on 29 July 1993 in Moscow.

4. An agreement between the Russian and Kazakh governments on rescheduling the debt in technical credits, according to the results of 1992 and January to June 1993, as a state credit to the government of Kazakhstan, signed on 29 July 1993 in Moscow.

5. An agreement between the Russian and Kyrgyz governments on a state credit for 1993, signed on 27 July 1993 in Moscow.

6. An agreement between the Russian and Moldovan governments on a state credit for 1993, signed on 27 March 1993 in Sochi.

7. An agreement between the Russian and Tajik governments on a state credit for 1993, signed on 20 July 1993 in Moscow.

8. An agreement between the Russian and Tajik governments on rescheduling the debt in technical credits, according to the results from January to June 1992 and

from January to June 1993, as a state credit to the Tajik Government, signed on 20 July 1993 in Moscow.

Invitation To Join COCOM Successor Needs 'Serious Thought'

PM1911155793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 93 p 3

[Article by Manki Ponomarev: "It Has Finally Happened: COCOM Has Quit the Scene"]

[Excerpts] This week COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] representatives met in the Netherlands town of Wassenaar. The future of this organization was discussed at the meeting,

COCOM was one of the longest surviving relics of the "cold war" era. [passage omitted]

But times are changing. The U.S. House of Representatives has just adoped a bill on friendship with Russia, Ukraine, and the other new states, which envisages revoking many of the now clearly outdated provisions regarding the USSR. Now COCOM's representatives who gathered in Wassenaar have decided to wind up this hateful organization. Admittedly not immediately, but next March.

It is planned to set up another international export control organ to replace COCOM—this time covering exports to countries which, the Western press says, pose a "new strategic threat," such as Iraq, Libya, and the DPRK.

Russia is also being invited to join this organ. Needless to say, it is a very good thing that the restrictions imposed by the outgoing COCOM will no longer apply to it. But serious thought must be given as to whether Russia should act as the watchdog of alien interests in the new organ.

Chernomyrdin Calls For Greater German Investment

LD2011102393 Hamburg DPA in German 0111 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin believes that Germany should make greater use of Russia's huge resources of energy and raw materials through large-scale investments. In a DER SPIEGEL interview just before a meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is stopping over in Moscow on his return trip from China, he called for the intensification of cooperation in a spirit of partnership with the Germans, "with whom we have the best of relations, after all".

Chernomyrdin said cooperation could be expanded, particularly in the areas of gas and oil extraction. "Hence our invitation: Come to us; let us invest in new technologies together. We are open for joint ventures, shared property, public limited companies—you here and us there."

Moscow's head of government also expressed his conviction that the old business contacts with companies in the former GDR could be better used. "I am sure that without Russia, it will be far harder to get industry going again there."

It would be also be possible "to do more", according to Chernomyrdin, with regard to the conversion of arms companies. These companies are competitive and have up-to-date technology and excellent expertise. "It is terrible that Russia's massive riches, both material and intellectual, are not being used. True, we need help with that, but it would be of value for the whole of Europe".

The prime minister said that Russia also has considerable potential to offer in the area of space technology. "We are well into the next century in that area. You should not be so tight-fisted."

Yeltsin Spokesman Outlines Agenda for Kohl Meeting

LD2011123093 Hamburg DPA in German 1129 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—In Moscow on Monday [22 November], Russian President Boris Yeltsin intends to inform Chancellor Helmut Kohl about the internal political situation in Russia after the communist rebellion at the beginning of October. This was stated to DPA today in Moscow by the head of the presidential press office, Anatoliy Krasikov.

In addition, Yeltsin intends to inform the chancellor at first hand about the situation in the runup to the parliamentary elections and progress on the creation of the new Russian Constitution. On his initiative, Kohl will stop over in Moscow for three hours on his return from China, in order to meet Yeltsin.

At the meeting, both politicians, whose last meeting was in July at Lake Baykal in Siberia, will also discuss questions of cooperation between the European Union [EU] and Russia, Krasikov said. A partnership agreement is to be signed between the EU and Russia in the next few months. A few days ago, the Belgian president of the EU Council, Jean-Luc Dehaene, invited Yeltsin to Brussels, Krasikov said. [passage omitted]

ITAR-TASS Previews Talks Between Yeltsin, Germany's Kohl

LD2211094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0913 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Russia's part in European integration and the domestic political situation in the Russian Federation ahead of the parliamentary elections are likely to be in the focus of talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow later today.

According to German diplomatic sources in Moscow, the head of the German Government attaches great importance to getting first-hand information about the complex situation in Russia. High-ranking officials close to the chancellor said the same in Singapore, where he made a brief stop-over after a many-day, successful visit to China.

Germany's contribution to assistance to Russia is quite substantial, be it loans or humanitarian aid. A recent government meeting was told that the total amount of German assistance to this country has exceeded 80 billion marks, much more than contributed by any other Western country.

Political support is no less important. The German chancellor announced through his official spokesman Dieter Vogel that Germany is fully and unconditionally supporting the Russian president and criticised those among Western politicians who "point their fingers too easily at shortfalls in the draft Constitution" of Russia.

There is no doubt that Kohl who last met with Yeltsin at Lake Baykal last summer regards his partners' wishes quite seriously. They have regular telephone exchanges. One of the central problem in their conversations is the opening of the European markets to Russian products, and the removal of all barriers and restrictions on this path.

President Boris Yeltsin is due to meet the leaders of the twelve EC member-countries on the eve of the European Union summit scheduled for December 10-11. The voice of Germany, the locomotive of European integration, can sound a weighty note at this forum. Bonn has already expressed readiness to back Russia's initiative for holding in Moscow a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs and finance of the world's seven leading countries.

Another major aspect of bilateral relations is German investments in the Russian economy. Standing at a mere tens of millions of marks at present, they need upgrading. Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin said in an interview with the magazine SPIEGEL that partnership cooperation between the two countries, should be strengthened. German investors can do good by targeting their investments at the energy and oil and natural gas producing sectors of Russia, he said.

Government Official Discusses Visit to France

LD2011114293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0100 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Krasnoshchekov]

[Text] Paris, 20 November—We are taking away with us the very best impressions from our meetings with French politicians and the representatives of the business circles of this country and we hope that the talks that have taken place will promote the further strengthening of political links and the expansion of economic cooperation between Russia and France. That is the assessment Oleg Lobov, secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, gave of the results of his visit to France. The delegation was here from 15 to 19 November at the invitation of Bernard Bosson, French minister of public works, transport, and tourism.

Within the framework of the visit O. Lobov had meetings with Christian Quesnot, head of the personal staff of the French president; Hubert Vedrine, secretary-general of the Elysee Palace; and other French officials. O. Lobov said in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent before leaving Paris by air, that during these talks there was an exchange of opinions on questions of ensuring national security. We sensed the concern of the French side, not only of representatives of political and military circles but also the heads of towns that we visited, business people, and ordinary citizens at the situation pertaining on the European continent, O. Lobov said. "All the people we spoke to were firmly convinced that there can be no European security without Russia. In this regard the French position is close to ours in saying that there should be no hurry to expand NATO by taking in new members, that the North Atlantic alliance needs to be reformed after ceasing to be an opposing bloc to the former Warsaw Treaty Organization and, consequently, should no longer stand in opposition to Russia." During the talks, O. Lobov added, representatives of the French side frequently stressed that France's security is to a large extent determined not only by the internal situation in the country but also by the situation in Russia; and they demonstrated a clear aspiration for cooperation in the sphere of ensuring European security.

Concerning questions of economic cooperation between the two countries, O. Lobov stressed that during the visit by the Russian delegation to the French National Assembly great success had marked the presentation of the project for building a high-speed railway line between St. Petersburg and Moscow, which is planned to be carried out with broad participation by French firms. In Paris and Lotharingia, which we visited on the last two days of the visit, we received a number of business proposals from the French side. They expressed their readiness not only to give help in the form of consultations but also to take an active part in specific work to implement this large-scale project, O. Lobov said. In particular representatives of Credit Lyonnais, one of France's largest banks, announced that it was prepared to invest capital in this project.

The French also expressed interest in other projects connected with the development of cooperation in the sphere of the oil and gas extraction industry, timber processing, production of building materials, road building, and housing construction in Russia, O. Lobov went on to note, and in the very near future we will be receiving in Moscow and St. Petersburg official delegations and representatives of business circles from Paris and Lotharingia to discuss specific plans for expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation. We also got acquainted here with a number of firms that are already carrying out active work on the Russian market. I think that this year, after declining, trade turn-over between Russia and France will increase—in any event preliminary assesments allow this conclusion to be drawn, O. Lobov noted in conclusion.

Western Countries Said To Block Russia From Nuclear Market

LD1911152993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1222 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS— The fears of Russian officials in the Atomic Energy Ministry about Western countries' resistance to Russian competition on the world nuclear market are justified. This was admitted by Roland Richter, the director for servicing atomic objects in the German company "Kraftwork-Anlagen-Bau AG", during a press conference on Friday [19 November].

Richter's company "is a victim of this short-sighted policy", he claimed. Nevertheless, Russia's nuclear complex is well-developed and should eventually win its deserved place on the world market.

In the meantime, Western countries apparently are worried about assisting a potentially strong competitor and are not very eager to establish contacts with the Russians. Very often, after "a short and superficial examination" of formerly Soviet nuclear energy plants, foreign specialists conclude that they are in horrible shape, which is not always the truth, said editor of the German Weekly "Nucleonics Week" Mark Gibbs, who also took part in the press conference.

Since they cannot market their product in developed states, Russia is determined to cooperate with third-world countries like China and Iran. That creates a big risk of proliferation of nuclear technology. This Russian attitude is another reason why Western countries refuse to cooperate with Russia, Gibbs mentioned.

Richter added that Russia now especially needs direct contacts with foreign companies and enterprises, which could result in a quick cash inflow into the Russian industry. That is the way the gap between the East and West will be eliminated, Richter is convinced.

Moscow Resumes Natural Gas Deliveries to Bosnia

LD2011210293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The delivery of Russian natural gas has resumed to the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, which is facing an unusually early winter. A spokesman for the United Nations says that although Russia used to supply Bosnia with 10 times as much gas before the war, the resumed imports exceed by 400-fold their recent volume.

The resumption of gas deliveries follows Thursday's agreement between the Bosnian and Serbian leaders. Serbia is controlling the natural gas supply lines.

The problem as a whole could be eliminated if the United Nations lifted its sanctions against the United Republic of Yugoslavia. The United Nations sanctions control committee is objecting to the lifting of the sanctions. Russia is willing to supply Bosnia with natural gas in the context of humanitarian aid.

Last winter Sarajevo owed its survival largely to the Russian gas deliveries.

Specialists Investigate Plane Crash in Iran

LD1911115893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yevgeniy Nikitin and Nikolay Novichkov]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS— A group of Russian specialists, led by Deputy Head of the State Supervision Department at the Chief Inspectorate for the Safety of Civil Air Traffic Mikhail Miroshnichenko, has flown to Tehran to take part in the investigation of the crash of a Ruslan AN-124-100 transport plane. The investigation is conducted by Iranian civil aviation specialists.

The plane, making the Dubai-Tashkent flight, crashed on November 15 at about 18.00, Moscow time, near the Kerman airport of Iran. The first reports about the air crash, circulated by many Russian and foreign mass media organs, said by mistake that the AN-124-100 belonged to the Volga-Dnepr air transport company from Ulyanovsk, which has been using those planes for several years.

According to Ivan Mashkivskiy, head of the chief inspectorate for the safety of civil air traffic of Russia and deputy director of the air transport department, the plane belonged not to the Volga-Dnepr company, but to the Magistralnye Linii limited partnership from Moscow and was operated by the Aviastar joint-stock company from Ulyanovsk.

The preliminary investigation showed that the plane had on board a Russian crew made up of 14 people, with Anatoliy Lubyanitskiy as the commander, and three passengers, whose citizenship is now being established.

According to the information, supplied by the Iranian civil aviation authorities, the scene of the air crash was found in a difficult-of-access mountain area. The plane was destroyed completely, and all the crew members and passengers were killed.

Jordan's King Husayn Receives Shumeyko in Amman

LD2011194393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1740 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shelenkov]

[Text] Cairo, 20 Nov—King Husayn of Jordan today received Vladimir Shumeyko, Russian first deputy prime minister and the head of a Russian governmental delegation, which arrived in Amman the previous day. The delegation is taking part in the first Jordanian-Russian roundtable working meeting, which opens today in the Jordanian capital.

During the talks, Radio Sawt al-Arab [Voice of the Arabs] reported that King Husayn emphasized the importance of a strengthening of relations and development of cooperation between the two countries. The Jordanian monarch confirmed that his country is striving to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Near East.

In his turn, Shumeyko spoke during the meeting about the Russian leadership's desire for a development of bilateral relations with Jordan in various spheres. He also noted the importance of the coordination of the efforts by the two countries to step up the peace process aimed at a Near East settlement.

Grachev Attends Formal Welcoming Ceremony in Switzerland

LD2211101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0915 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Bern, 22 Nov—The official visit to the Swiss Confederation by Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev began today with a formal welcoming ceremony on the parade-ground of the Bern barracks. An honor guard was formed and the Swiss and Russian national anthems were played.

During the current visit, which reciprocates that made to Moscow in 1989 by Kaspar Villiger, head of the Swiss military department, the sides intend to discuss problems of European security and bilateral cooperation.

According to the press service of the Swiss military department, they will also touch on the issue of strengthening international security and peace-keeping operations. Neutral Switzerland has begun playing an increasingly noticeable part in these operations in recent years. The country's government has taken a decision to assign a military contingent to the UN "Blue Helmets", which will be put to a nationwide referendum next summer.

According to the schedule for the visit, the Russian guest will visit a number of Swiss military installations and lay a wreath at a monument to those comrades-in-arms of the great Russian military leader Aleksandr Suvorov, who died while crossing the Alps in 1799. The monument stands by the famous Devil's Bridge, near the St. Gotthard Pass.

The Russian minister's visit will last until 24 November.

Political Issues

Yeltsin TV Interview Assessed

PM2211115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by Irina Goryunova: "Why It Was Men's Talk"]

[Text] The first question that I myself would like to answer is: Why Eldar Ryazanov? Why did he take on the role (approved by Boris Yeltsin) of the interlocutor who asked the president the questions that we have been asking one another—addressing him—for the last couple of years? Perhaps because Ryazanov has never transformed himself in any way—into a theatrical figure or a state man. I do not know whether he was a party member since he did not burn his party card in public, but I do know that for millions of viewers Ryazanov undoubtedly was and still is the most politically-minded director. His line of thought running from irony and satire to maximum generalization and symbolic imagery in his artistic works always made us, the viewers, extend the director's cinematic associations outward, downward, and "upward." Because whatever period the "most important of the arts" was undergoing Ryazanov invariably packed out movie theaters.

My first impression of Ryazanov's man-to-man talk with Yeltsin was one of belief! For the first time in the last few months of interminable "live discussions," "hotlines," "TV hookups," "roundtables," "press clubs," and "TV acquaintances." I believed both of them. Not with my mind, politically, pragmatically, or democratically, but with my heart. I am particularly grateful to the interlocutors for this feeling of belief, so rare today.

"Men's Talk" with Yeltsin is the work not only of a talented observer of human behavior, it is the work of a Good Artist, whose art is not rotten and limp because it never cozied up to the authorities.

Ryazanov is not only the director of his pictures, he is almost always the writer and dramatist. His work is sharp, ironic, and sometimes ruthless. "Men's Talk" with Yeltsin is no exception. Here even though the drama was impromptu, the author took the same risks with it as when he wrote and shot the once-banned "The Garage." Take one of the key questions and lessons for the president—Why did he not make a speech, why did he not say the important, awaited words after the death of his compatriots 3-4 October? And the answer came: "I have no answer." Then came a pause... A costly pause. For everyone. For the man who plucked up the courage to ask the question, the man who plucked up the courage to give that answer, and those who heard these and other equally painful questions and admissions which were an emotional experience on screen.

Although some people may have preferred the president's answers when he was prepared for attack, like an experienced tennis or basketball player. Boris Nikolayevich's answer to Ryazanov's rejection of the "fifth column" tactics used against the corps of deputies was undoubtedly one of these "retaliatory attacks."

As a director and as a citizen Eldar Aleksandrovich set himself a difficult but extremely important task in the current situation. That of proving that the Russian president is primarily morally and ethically healthy. That does not mean at all that Ryazanov was sure of his proof. In this case the director did not know how his play would end and was therefore sincerely worried. Especially since he himself was playing one of the main roles. And although he did not hide his own opinions and attitudes, he played the role of someone who is not afraid of dismissal (he has nothing to be dismissed from) right to the end with honor.

Eldar Ryazanov performed his task. In my view, a man who is often not satisfied with what he does—unlike someone who constantly feels a "sense of profound satisfaction"—is morally healthy. A man who is capable of agonizing and suffering as he acknowledges his own mistakes, while nonetheless possessing absolute power, is also ethically healthy. A man who continues to fight despite being defeated, believing in people and the rightness of his goal, is spiritually healthy. That kind of man is a guarantor of hope, Ryazanov claims at the end of the dialogue. However, even a healthy man needs cleansing. Cleansing from the filth of temptation, shortcomings, seduction, and the mistakes that every healthy man makes. Wasn't it this cleansing process that Boris Yeltsin described at the end of his discussion with Eldar Ryazanov?

While watching and listening to "Men's Talk," I remembered Vladimir Lakshin quite recently, before his death, appealing to the intelligentsia in alarm. In one of his last articles he warned artists of getting too close to the fiery sphere of power. "All my conscious life I remember the authorities trying to win the hearts of the literati by making sudden affectionate overtures to them and I remember the countermovement of...the devotees of Melpomena to bask in the comforting warmth of the Supreme Sun. No, it is not shameful for a poet to hobnob with a czar, for Art to hobnob with Power, but with mutual dignity when they can talk to one another as power to power, on an equal footing..."

It is a pity that Lakshin did not hear this discussion. This was indeed men's talk. The country in which these men live and for which they agonize will certainly recover. I say that as a woman.

Chernomyrdin Leaves on Vacation; Soskovets To Stand In

LD2011043193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation council of ministers, has left for a two-week vacation. During this time, Oleg Soskovets will carry out the prime minister's duties.

Chernomyrdin Feels Confident of Yeltsin's Support

LD2111224993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2155 GMT 21 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov—"I feel the full support of the president," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said in an interview shown on Sunday evening [21 November] on the Independent TV (NTV) program "Itogi." The prime minister stressed that "the way questions are posed and the measures being implemented by the government" had Boris Yeltsin's full support.

The head of government said his working meetings with the preisdent took place not less than once a week and lasted at least an hour or two.

Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed that, like the Russian president, he saw the main aim of the reforms is to strengthen their social bias. He refuted as absolutely groundless the claims that he wanted to pursue a course aimed at state regulation of prices and subsidies for enterprises operating at a loss.

Explaining the origin of such allegations, Viktor Chernomyrdin pointed out that now, on the eve of the election race, "many would like to use the government head as a political banner." "The government must work first of all—work, but not draw itself into politics," the prime minister underlined.

He also said that if the election of the State Duma were to be followed by yet another "game of leap-frog" with the premier and the government, this will do a disservice to Russia's torn economy. "Healthy politics are not possible today without a well thought out, serious economy," he said.

Speaking about his working relationship with the president of Russia, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that the president always consults him when he is about to make a state-related decision. "If some have a hope that a shadow will be cast over the relations of the Russian Federation president and the prime minister, let me tell you this now—it will not happen." "There is no basis for it; in any case I have no problem with it," concluded Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Minister on Territorial Range of Constitution

LD1911200393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Russia's new constitution will be in effect in the whole territory of Russia, even if some of its members give the cold shoulder to the draft constitution at the referendum on December 12, Russia's first Justice Minister and Chairman of the Legal Suggestions Commission at the president's the office Mikhail Mitiukov said on Friday [19 November].

At a meeting with journalists he said he hoped that most member- republics of the Russian Federation, including Yakutia and Buryatia, would support the draft. At the same time Mitiukov admitted that the situation in the North Caucasus was far more difficult to predict and that certain complications might be encountered in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan.

Mitiukov said that the draft of the constitution put up for a referendum was going to establish strong government with an effective parliament. In his opinion, the draft is based on the principle of a clear delimitation of powers.

On the other hand, Mitiukov said, this draft of the constitution stems from the current realities and tasks of establishing new democratic relations and political and economic stability in Russia.

Draft Constitution Provisions Summed Up

PM2211133993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Orlov: "Where Will Federation Council Come From? That Is the Question for Authors of Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The Russian Federation draft constitution published 10 November has a long history. The constitutional commission was created by the first Congress of People's Deputies back in June 1990. The elaboration of the draft Constitution took quite a long time because of amendments and the constant deferment of the examination of the Fundamental Law by the congress. On 29 April 1993 what was then an alternative draft Russian Constitution appeared, provisionally called "the president's" draft (its authors were S. Alekseyev, A. Sobchak, and S. Shakhray). The Russian Federation president suggested that the components of the Federation take part in completing work on the draft and proposed to convene a constitutional conference consisting of scientists, politicians, entrepreneurs, and representatives of the regions. At the time the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet leadership and Constitutional Commission Secretary O. Rumyantsev sharply criticized the president's initiative. The constitutional conference convened 5 June elaborated for 12 July the text of the fundamental law whose provisions are the foundation of the draft submitted by the president for the 12 December referendum.

The main thing which has changed in the present version of the draft compared with the one adopted by the constitutional conference is the remove from it of the Federation Treaty (former section 2) and of mentions of the sovereignty of the republics and "special features of the status of individual components." This imparted greater harmony and completeness to one of the fundamental principles—the principle of federalism. We believe that the departure from confederative trends will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the administrative-territorial structure of the Russian Federation. The assertion of the equal rights of the components of the federation (point 4 of article 5, article 65) means a move away from the national denominant in the approach toward the Federation's structure. The joint subordination of the statuses of Russia and the republics, krays, oblasts, and other components which belong to it (article 66) presupposes that the "war of laws" will no longer be possible. This is also borne out by the detailed listing of matters within the Federation's jurisdiction and its components (articles 71-72).

The Russian Federation president's powers (chapter 4) compared with the 12 July draft have been considerably expanded: It is he who has to determine the "basic guidelines of the state's domestic and foreign policy" (point 3, article 80. If the Constitution is adopted—and this is natural under the conditions of a transitional period—the president will have colossal power concentrated in his hands because it is he who, with the consent of the State Duma, appoints the chairman of the government, submits the leaders of legal power and the chairman of the Central Bank to the Federation council and the State Duma for their appointment, and also has the right to dissolve the State Duma (articles 83-84). The president's impeachment has been seriously complicated (article 93). The president now also decides the question of whether to send the government into retirement or dissolve the State Duma (article 117) which considerably expands the legal basis of the Russian Federation government's activity.

The Federal Assembly has been deprived of the similarity of the chambers inherent in the former Supreme Soviet—the Federation Council quite obviously plays the part of a "filter" in the adoption of laws (a federal law is deemed to have been adopted if it has not been examined by the Federation Council within 14 days) and the role of an upper chamber—it is to the Federation Council that the president addresses his annual message (article 84). Meanwhile the mechanism for forming the Federation Council is unclear: Article 95 of the draft Constitution (point 2) presupposes that it will "consist of two representatives from each component of the Russian Federation; one each from the representative and executive organs of state power." How will the Federation Council be formed if the draft Constitution makes no mention of the federal constitutional law regulating this process? By an edict of the Russian Federation president? It seems that the elective nature of the Federation Council contained in the draft Fundamental Law until very recently would be better than the principle of coopting.

The State Duma is, according to the draft, the real maker of laws and the budget and has quite broad powers (article 103). We believe the provision on the government's expert conclusion on draft laws affecting budget expenditure (point 3, article 104) to be extraordinarily successful—it will make it possible to avoid permanent confrontation between the government and parliament.

Experts note that the most worked-on point which also meets international requirements is the second chapter of the draft Constitution on the rights and freedoms of man and the citizen. The extensive list of civil and social rights and political freedoms which distinguishes the draft gives the broadest opportunities for the citizen's self-realization within the framework of a civilian society.

Articles 135-136 of the Constitution guarantee the stability of the Fundamental law since to review the most important provisions it will be necessary to convene a Constitutional Assembly and to alter its less important provisions it will be necessary to achieve the approval of two thirds of the components of the Federation. Nonetheless in our view the Constitution will not be a document which determines Russians' lives for a historically lengthy period. It is therefore no accident that the present president, government, and courts of Russia are exercising their powers in accordance with the new Constitution while the Federation Council and State Duma are convened for a two-year period (section 2).

It is hard for us to share the confidence of the provisional legislator that the Constitution will unfailingly be adopted ("the day of the nationwide vote, 12 December 1993, is deemed the day of the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation"—Article 1, Section two). At the same time it is hard to imagine what the consequences will be of the continued operation of the Russian Constitution adopted 12 April 1978 (with subsequent changes). The collision of laws in that case would be swift, threatening the very foundations of Russian statehood.

Is the path of submitting the draft Constitution to nationwide referendum legitimate? If you proceed from the formal legal understanding of legitimacy, then of course not, but there is a legitimacy based on traditions and trust. By submitting the draft Russian Constitution to a nationwide referendum the president is following traditions and respecting citizens' trust in him and the changes connected with his name.

We shall hope that Russian's citizens will support the proposed draft at the referendum because nothing is as important for Russia as calm and stability. True stabilization can come only on the basis of a renewed legal system which is impossible in our country without a new Constitution.

Government Forms Commission on Constitutional Referendum

LD2211094093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0748 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation has formed a commission to supervise events designed to prepare and hold a countrywide plebiscite on the new constitution of the Russian Federation.

Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko is appointed chairman of the commission which will also include the presidential chief of staff Sergey Filatov, the ministers of communications and transport, deputy ministers of finance, defence, internal affairs and national security.

The main tasks set before the government commission are "handling problems of material and financial provisions for the nationwide referendum, coordinating work of central bodies in providing facilities, equipment, means of transport and communication to electoral commissions in constituencies, and in ensuring the maintenance of law and order during the nationwide referendum and other events relating to it."

MVD Minister's List of 'Unreliable Judges' Scored

PM1911131993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Valeriy Rudnev: "Scandal Brewing: Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Draws Up Lists of 'Unreliable' Judges"]

[Text] We have just learned that Russian Supreme Court Chairman Vyacheslav Lebedev sent an urgent dispatch to Russian Federation General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik: "...I ask you, in accordance with Article 176 of the Russian Federation Constitution, to ascertain for what purpose and on what legal grounds the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has drawn up a 'list of 111 judges'."

What was it that so alarmed the leader of the Russian judicial office?

At the same time as we are preparing to adopt Russia's new Constitution (which establishes, in particular, the independence of the court and the immunity and irremovability of judges), the MVD seems to be planning a police roundup of unreliable judges. So far the list contains "111 judges whose verdicts give rise to considerable and frequently conclusive doubts."

The secret of this operation was revealed by Viktor Yerin himself, the bold minister who recently received the lofty rank of army general and the no-less-lofty title of Hero of Russia for the operation against the "squatters" in the White House. He has now set about instilling order in the judicial office. In a recent interview with a KURANTY correspondent he declared: "Crime is growing and becoming more brazen, but the judges frequently display liberalism, to put it mildly. (There then follows the aforementioned words about the list of 111 judges—author's note), but our judges are untouchable. Incidentally, are not the categories of officials in our country who have legal guarantees of impunity too broad?"

The public, who are already accustomed to dissension among leading employees of the new formation, did not attach great significance to the "charge" against the judges. There were somewhat more drastic thoughts in the interview, but the revelations of the chief Russian militiaman provoked extremely profound pensiveness, if not shock, within the juridical community....

Although everyone I have telephoned about Yerin's interview—attorneys, prosecutors, academic jurists—has expressed various shades of the same thought ("a nightmare," "it cannot be," "what liberties they allow themselves in the militia," "this is simply crude," "nonsense," "it smacks of a provocation"), they have made a categoric assessment: It is bad!

It is bad that the minister has not mastered legal terminology and confuses two words with different meanings—"immunity" and "untouchability." It is bad that the minister does not understand a criminological truth—the severity of punishment does not affect the dynamics of crime.

It is bad that the minister has a poor grasp of legislation. For it is not "broad categories of officials" who have legal guarantees of impunity in our country but just a narrow category of foreign diplomats. As for judges, their immunity means only a special procedure, laid down in law, for instituting criminal proceedings.

It is bad if the minister employs the concept of "doubts" in respect of court sentences. I will venture to remind the minister of one of the postulates of a rule-of-law state: A court sentence which has come into force is law. There can be doubts at the investigation stage, during a court examination, and at the stage of appealing against a specific sentence. Even then, according to the rules of our law, they are interpreted in favor of the accused in the dock, but here are doubts in respect of an entire list of 111 judges!

It is altogether bad that, instead of fighting crime, the minister is starting up a war on justice.

It is very alarming that the lists of disgraced judges are compiled not in the prosecutor's office, which supervises the legality of court rulings, but in the militia, which is renowned for its operations against people considered unreliable—spying, bugging, secret observation, surveillance by agents.

Incidentally, the question is still whether the general prosecutor will help the Supreme Court chairman to uphold the honor of his 111 nameless judges on the "blacklist." Viktor Yerin recently gave the prosecutor's office itself "what for." Speaking on television, the minister pointed out: Sometimes prosecutors also put "spokes in the militia's wheels." How precisely? Not everyone is arrested at the militia's suggestion, some are released from custody, and proceedings are dropped against others altogether.

A final point—about Russian judges. There is a long way to go to achieve 100-percent holiness of the entire Russian corps of judges. Here is the Supreme Court's official list: Over the past year 45 judges have had their powers discreditably terminated. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against several judges. Approximately 3 percent of court rulings are altered.

As regards similar figures characterizing Russian militia personnel, they are exponentially higher, but Yerin preferred not to mention this in the KURANTY interview.

Media Issues

Deputy Press Minister on Closing Newspapers

MK1911141093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 18/20, 19-25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 18 Nov) p 2

[Report by Seyfali Akhundov under the "Concluding Remarks" rubric: "Let Us Recall Who Threatened Execution"]

[Text] OBSHCHAYA GAZETA's correspondent has asked David Tsabriya, Russian Federation deputy press and information minister, to comment on his statement.

Addressing a press conference in the Russian-U.S. Press Center, David Tsabriya stated that "11 opposition profascist newspapers will be closed without court proceedings and that the materials on four publications, including DEN and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, have been submitted to court." He also proposed introducing serious changes in the mass media law and simplifying the procedures for suspending the activity of newspapers and electronic media. Many papers have reported on this, citing INTERFAX.

"My words have been interpreted too loosely by journalists who have little knowledge about legal matters," the deputy minister said. "The introduction of simplified procedures for the closure of press publications does not envision an extra-judicial process. In any event, a paper may be closed only by a court of law. We are only proposing that such cases be treated as administrative. Unlike civil law process, examination here is less protracted. This is basically all that a 'simplified procedure' involves. During the state of emergency in Moscow, fascist orientation newspapers, as well as some other publications, were closed on the appropriate decisions by state bodies. When the state of emergency ended, these decisions automatically lost their effect. We immediately turned to court and to the General Prosecutor's Office, presenting documents on DEN and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and also the publications whose list was prepared by the Press and Information Ministry, asking to initiate criminal cases against them. Certain gentlemen should recall their own mood on the night of 3 and 4 October and also who was threatening to execute them, and only then start accusing and smearing us. I, for one, have always been an advocate of freedom of expression."

Further on Suspension of Papers

LD1911193593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] All work on printing a number of major Russian newspapers such as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, PRAVDA and others printed at the publishers' house Pressa were suspended today.

The first sub-editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Yadviga Yuferova, told Interfax that the measure was taken by the publishers' house director, Vyacheslav Leontyev, due to these newspapers' failure to reimburse their debts for printing services. Each newspaper is subsidized by the government, but the money was not remitted in time.

Political Reasons for TV Program Ban Denied

PM2211100193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by "A.P." "No One Has Taken 'EKS' Program Off the Air"]

[Text] On 10 November NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published an item by P. Koltsov about how an "EKS" (Criminal Reports Screen ["Ekran Kriminalnykh Soobshcheniy"]) broadcast touching on the 3-4 October events in Moscow was taken off the air for political reasons, but the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company press service announced, the main reason the broadcast did not go out was not the opinions of "EKS" editor O. Aksenov set out in the article but purely professional considerations. The usual length of the program is 10 minutes. This 30-minute program was a "pilot" test. Understandably, its usual reporting approach was inappropriate here—a different structure was needed for the program. The authors tried to "get arty," but unfortunately this did not compensate for blunders on the part of the producer and others. In general the program was not a success. Complaints were leveled against the program's creators and they agreed with them.

It is important to note that matters were not as presented in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—no one took the finished program off the air. It was "dropped" at the preparation stage— an ordinary thing to happen in work. In principle after appropriate additional work and reassembly it could very well be broadcast.

A journalist's ethics require when preparing items like that in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that both sides be listened to. If the newspaper editorial office had turned to the All-Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, it would have obtained exhaustive explanations. Then, it is true, there would have been no sensation.

IZVESTIYA To Publish Supplements

PM1911145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Editorial announcement: "IZVESTIYA Subscription Continues. In the New Year Our Readers Will Get Five Papers in One"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Of course, we make no secret of the fact that we want as many subscribers to IZVESTIYA as possible. In fact there will be many new features in IZVESTIYA in the new year.

What the changes mean is that henceforth readers will not need to subscribe to several expensive, specialized publications—they will need just one IZVESTIYA, in which they will find another four papers!

First, there is IZVESTIYA-Documents, a pull-out supplement publishing major state documents and official material.

Second, there is IZVESTIYA-TV—a weekly eight-page pull-out supplement for those who not only watch television, but want to know what is happening behind the screen, plus the television programs for the week together with information on the highlights.

Third, there is IZVESTIYA-Sports, which will interest amateurs, professionals, and just fans of the most popular types of sports.

Fourth, there is Financial IZVESTIYA, which is published in conjunction with one of the world's most prestigious papers—the FINANCIAL TIMES (Britain). It has only been going for a year, but has already acquired a reputation in the world of business at home and abroad.

All this not counting the fact that special pages on medicine and technological innovation, reviews of sensational material in the foreign press, "Motor Show," the "Opinions" page, and the very original and informative "Different View" have established themselves in IZVESTIYA of late and have won readers' approval...

The main thing, though, is that the increase in the size of the paper will not mean an increase in the subscription cost! As we announced before, the basic price of IZVESTIYA in the first six months of 1994 is 300 rubles [R] per month or R1,800 for six months. Plus, of course, the cost of mailing it, which will vary between R2,000 and R9,000, depending on region. [passage omitted]

Election Issues

Gaydar Opposes Early Presidential Elections

LD1911184893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The Russia's Choice bloc does not intend to monopolize the president to a certain extent, Russian Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar, the bloc's leader, told Interfax Friday [19 November]. Russia's Choice has always backed the president as a reformer and has never dissociated itself from him, said Gaydar. However, we are very pleased when other alliances, after overcoming their deliberations, have come to support the president and his policies, he said.

Gaydar said that the bloc supported the president as a specific individual whose name is associated with the policy of reforms.

Gaydar has reiterated that early presidential elections in 1994 would be inexpedient. He said, though, at the elections, if any, Boris Yeltsin will be sure to win.

Gaydar said that he did not meet the president Friday.

Poltoranin Says Chernomyrdin Will Lead New Government

LD2011193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The Federal Information Center's chief Mikhail Poltoranin, one of the leaders of the electoral bloc "Russia's Choice", believes that the incumbent Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin will take over the government to be formed after the elections on December 12.

At a news-conference after a session of the bloc's executive committee Friday night, Poltoranin suggested that in the new cabinet, Yegor Gaydar, the bloc's leader "will be the motor of reform with Chernomyrdin to observe from on the captain's bridge." "Even the most knowledgeable and experienced captain can hardly expect success in a long and gruesome sail without a good and powerful motor", Poltoranin explained.

He told an INTERFAX reporter that in a conversation with President Yeltsin on November 18, he censured the currently debated proposal to put the Russian Press House on the Pushkin Street at the State Duma's disposal. "The President supported my position", he said.

In Poltoranin's words, "those who failed to capture "Ostankino" by assault will try to launch a new offensive on the press "through the people who have entrenched themselves in the presidential administration."

He reported that at the meeting with the president he had called for reforming the mass media system. "By 1996, all media must become independent", he said. In his words, an appropriate presidential decree will be signed after the elections next month.

Soskovets Nominated as Candidate to Federal Assembly

LD2011195993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The spokesman for the Central Election Commission has told INTERFAX that the Commission has received lists with signatures necessary to register Russia's First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets as candidate to the Federal Assembly.

Meanwhile, the spokesman for the Vice-Premier has told INTERFAX that Soskovets has not changed his decision not to take part in the election campaign. This is indicative, for example, from the telegrams to the cities of Chelyabinsk and Bratsk whose residents nominated Soskovets to the Council of Federation and to the State Duma, respectively.

Answering the question put by INTERFAX on the reasons behind his refusal to run to the Federal Assembly, Soskovets and some of his colleagues in the government said that they deemed it necessary to concentrate today all efforts on routine activities to improve the economy.

This position of his as well as of some ministers and leaders of state committees which they outlined in their statement late in October, was approved by the president and the prime minister.

Yeltsin Administration, Party Activists Discuss Parliament

PM2211110993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Feliks Babitskiy: "All Facets of the Federal Assembly"]

[Text] On 18 November the president's administration held a meeting in the Sociopolitical Center on Tsvetnoy Boulevard with activists of parties and movements participating in the elections. Both hosts and guests behaved as if the Federal Assembly had already been elected, and the whole two hours allocated to the meeting were effectively devoted to one question: How will the new Russian parliament look and function?

In this connection, Sergey Yushenkov, who represented "Russia's Choice," transparently hinted to Sergey Filatov, who held the chair, that, with less than one month to go before parliamentary elections, it is improper for a civilized state not to have settled on working premises for the deputies' corps. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy delivered a proposal that merits attention—that the supreme organs of power and administration be located outside Moscow. But a representative of the movement "Russia's Future—New Names"—who did not give his name—expressed the opinion that, on the contrary, the return of the legislators to the Kremlin, and equally, to the "White House," would be a highly important political action, a sign of national reconciliation and respect for the legislative power.

Replying to all those present, Mr. Filatov promised that he will resolve the question of the fate of the buildings which will house the Federal Assembly in conjunction with Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov within the next two days. At the same time, he especially stressed—referring for some reason to world experience—that each of the two chambers should have its own building. As for the creation of a "parliamentary village beyond the beltway," the head of the president's administration has already had consultations with leaders of all parties and movements, and the majority expressed their support for locating the Federal Assembly in the center of Moscow.

Two hundred and sixty officials of the apparatus of the abolished Russian Federation Supreme Soviet have returned from indefinite leave. By the beginning of the new parliament's work the total number of officials of its various services will exceed 2,000 persons.

From the scheme offered to the attention of those present it is clear that the parliament itself will not have a unified leadership and that its apparatus will be a fairly rigidly centralized structure manifestly not subordinate to it. However, no one spoke about this openly.

In conclusion Mikhail Mityukov and Viktor Sheynis, who represented the Commission for Legislative Proposals, spoke about the draft standing orders which they have prepared for each of the chambers.

Preliminary List of 970 Candidates for Federal Assembly

LD1911200593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission today published the preliminary list of the candidates to the elections to the Federal Assembly. The list includes 970 names. Among them are Vladimir Isakov, Sergey Baburin, Svetlana Goryacheva, Nikolay Lysenko, and Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Deadline for Registration of Candidates Passes

LD1911214893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2126 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 20 Nov—Registration of candidates standing for the Federal Assembly in all one-seat and two-seat constituencies in Russia ended at midnight [2100 GMT] tonight. The election campaign is entering the decisive stage: The fight for seats in the new parliament is beginning. [passage omitted]

752 Candidates Registered

LD2011091593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0740 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—The registration of candidates to the Federal Assembly at all one-seat and two-seat constituencies of Russia ended at 00.00 today.

The electoral campaign has entered the decisive stage: The struggle for seats in the new parliament has started.

The final information about the people, who were admitted to take part in the electoral campaign, will be received much later, a spokesman for the Central Electoral Commission told ITAR-TASS. Taking into consideration the size of Russia's territory, the state of the communication network and, which is also important in the current situation, bad weather which is typical of winter, not all the local electoral commissions will be able to transmit information immediately after the end of the registration. 752 candidates have been registered by now, including 194 to the Federation Council and 558 to the State Duma.

There are 60 former people's deputies of Russia on the list. Heads and deputy heads of administration, as well as ministers, account for a large share. They are followed by business people, representatives of joint-stock companies and other commercial structures (22 per cent). Senior executives account for 8 per cent, journalists for 3 per cent and workers for 1.2 per cent.

Election Official Comments

LD2011133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Another round of the electoral campaign—the registration of candidates at one-seat and two-seat constituencies—ended at 00.00 on November 20.

A total of 483 candidates will run for the Federation Council and 1,397 for the State Duma, member of the Central Electoral Commission Viktor Karpunov told ITAR-TASS.

Karpunov said that Chechnya would not be represented in the new Russian parliament, because that republic integrated in the Russian Federation refused to take part in elections. Thus, the candidates who will stand for election at one-seat and two-seat constituencies, will vie for 176 seats in the Federation Council and 224 seats in the State Duma.

According to Karpunov, elections will probably not be held at two two-seat constituencies—in Tatarstan, where only one candidate was registered, and in the Chelyabinsk region, where two candidates were registered, while the minimum number is three candidates.

Three candidates were registered in 19 two-seat constituencies, and the Central Electoral Commission is somewhat concerned over this situation: If one of the candidates withdraws from the electoral campaign, elections at that constituency will not be held. Elections will not be held either at the Naberezhnye Chelnyy one- seat constituency in Tatarstan, where only one candidate was registered, Karpunov added.

Karpunov mentioned the constituencies where ten and even more candidates will vie for one seat in the Federation Council. These include Karachaevo-Cherkessia, Mordovia, North Ossetia and the Evenk Autonomous District. The 207th northern constituency (St. Petersburg) broke all records: There are 20 candidates to one seat there.

According to Karpunov, 189 candidates to the State Duma were refused to be registered, because they failed to collect the required number of signatures.

Three Candidates Removed From Russia's Choice, PRUA Lists

PM2211120793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Central Electoral Commission Secretary V.A. Zagulyayev: "News Item"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission reports that, in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993," Galina Nikolayevna Karelova has been excluded from the federal list of State Duma candidate deputies from the "Russia's Choice" electoral association on the basis of a personal statement of 29 October 1993 and decision No. 19 of the Executive Committee of the "Russia's Choice" electoral association of 10 November 1993.

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission reports that, in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993," Petr Grigoryevich Premyak and Aleksandr Grigoryevich Kislyakov have been excluded from the federal list of State Duma candidate deputies from the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" electoral association on the basis of a decision of the Federal Council of the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" of 14 November 1993.

Parties Explain Social Program, Land Policy

PM1911170193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Nov 93 p 1

[Editorial feature: "What Blocs and Parties Are Promising"]

[Text] Today we complete the publication of replies from election blocs and parties contesting deputies' seats in the State Duma to the two questions which, in the editorial office's opinion, are of greatest interest to voters:

1. What is your social program?

2. What is your attitude toward private land ownership?

Press Service of the "Russia's Choice" Bloc

1. The bloc advocates ensuring, above all, legal protection for Russian citizens, people's confidence in the future based on the possession of property, and freedom and security. Our bloc's credo is a triune formula:

freedom, ownership, and legality. These are the basic conditions which will make it possible to overcome the crisis.

The bloc's main social policy priority is to care above all about people, not about preserving inefficient enterprises and an incorrigible economic structure at all costs. We intend to support not obsolete enterprises but above all those people who are unable to find a place for themselves in the modern economy. We are for reorganizing the entire system of financing the social sphere, strengthening the selective nature of social support, targeting it to the needs of pensioners, invalids, families with children, and all the worst-off Russians. But we are believe that social protection is not a synonym for state charity.

2. The bloc's program in relation to land ownership is based on sensible, considered, realistic approaches to this problem. We are not insisting on accelerated wholesale privatization or the free distribution of property, including land ownership.

Press Service of the Democratic Party of Russia

1. The Democratic Party of Russia's position in the social policy sphere is based not only on who should be helped but also on where to find the resources.

We propose the following simple and specific measures:

a. Selective social support through the creation of a network of boards of guardians in village, settlement, and rayon administrations. Tax exemption for sums received by boards of guardians;

b. Tax exemption for resources from nonbudgetary funds of local organs of power which are channeled into solving social questions;

c. The development of a municipal ownership sector as a source of covering a territory's expenditure on the social sphere;

d. Local organs of power to be given the right to introduce socially targeted local taxes. Compulsory public accountability to the population for the use of these resources;

e. A state social protection program for people working in education, culture, and health care;

f. Restraining housing prices in real terms through market mechanisms, above all by restricting the use of housing for speculative transactions and introducing a tax on the purchase of apartments by legal entities.

Strategically we are proposing a profound reform of the entire social welfare system. The present system, based on the redistribution of the state budget's current income according to the residuary principle, not only fails to guarantee a normal level of social welfare but also generates inflation, as well as saddling production with additional taxes.

What is needed is a very rapid transition to a market, democratic social welfare system based on stimulating citizens' personal savings for the purposes of social insurance and their effective utilization in funds: pension, medical insurance, and social protection funds. Of course, the state must guarantee every citizen a minimum standard of social welfare, but everyone must also have the opportunity to autonomously choose the forms and methods of his pension and medical provisions, and to determine the amount of he will put by from his current income for these purposes.

Creating a system of private pension and medical insurance funds which is protected against the risk of incompetent administration will make it possible to ensure an increase in the accumulation norm in the national income and will facilitate the formation of a capital market, an increase in investment activity, a reduction in the taxation level for current economic activity, and a reduction in budget expenditure.

Unconditional priority must be given to selective support for the most needy strata of the population, primarily children, single mothers, families with several children, and temporarily unemployed people who have been dismissed because of a reduction in production or a change in production specialization. Expenditure on education and professional training for young people must be sharply increased. Pensioners and invalids must be guaranteed a decent living standard.

2. The Democratic Party of Russia has always advocated the introduction of private land ownership. We consider the president's latest edict on land a definite step forward.

We do, however, realize that the mechanical introduction of private ownership will by no means solve problems of increasing productivity in agriculture. Additional measures are needed. In particular:

reasonable state financial support on the principle of "money from the budget is not to be shared by everyone equally, it will only go to those working efficiently;"

credit incentives for the reformation of state and collective farms and joint-stock companies into smaller structures based on departments, private farms, construction shops, and individual peasant farms, which turn the peasant into the real master of the land;

equal support from the state for the countryside and cities in the social sphere.

Mikhail Zadornov and Tatyana Yarygina, Candidate Deputies to the State Duma From the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" Bloc

1. Our approach is that the state must pursue an active policy in the social sphere.

The key tasks are to widen the spheres in which labor is used for people capable of work and to provide selective support for those incapable of work—to provide them with a guaranteed minimum list of basic social benefits. The designation of a small number of priority state social programs (between six and eight), guaranteed full funding and full protection from inflation.

The current living standard of most of the country's population precludes the use of "shock" methods. The main methods of solving federal authorities' social policy tasks must be:

—reaching agreement between various social groups on an incomes policy for the next two to three years; reviewing tax restrictions on the wages fund; changing income tax rates in order to balance its stimulative and redistributive functions; promptly reviewing the income tax scale in line with price increases; a stable and clear procedure for making deductions from wages for social needs; partial indexation of wages in nonproduction sectors; increasing excises on luxuries; introducing a property tax;

—eliminating occurrences of late payment of wages in budget sectors;

—agreeing on the relative level of financing for sectors in the nonproduction sphere and designating priority state programs in the spheres of science, education, culture, and medical service;

—clearly dividing responsibility for implementing social programs between federal and local authorities. Going through the due legislative and financial procedure for registering understandings that have been reached;

—amending labor legislation—providing retraining opportunities when employment is reduced;

—a special retraining program for servicemen. Not a single officer can be discharged from the Army without retraining in a civilian profession;

—providing the conditions for establishing private welfare systems: forming new spheres in which labor can be used, private pension funds, private insurance systems, etc.;

—preventing excessive commercialization of social infrastructure enterprises, ensuring a balance between supporting old forms of meeting the population's social needs and forming a new system of paid services;

Supporting and protecting the interests of public associations, private charitable organizations; adopting a package of laws providing the conditions in which they can work effectively in the social sphere.

2. We favor a cautious, carefully thought-out, and gradual implementation of land reform.

The implementation of the right to private land ownership requires finely tuned legislation and maximum consideration of regions' social and cultural peculiarities and ecological restrictions. The right to own land must be guaranteed above all for those who work it. The formation of a corrupt land privatization system and its speculative redistribution must be precluded.

Charity Movement Leader Sets Out Platform

PM1911153993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 1

[Interview with Academician K.V. Frolov, vice president of Russian Academy of Sciences, who heads list of State Duma candidates for "Dignity and Charity" federal political movement, by Viktor Kozhemyako under the "Elections: People, Think Your Thought" rubric; place and date not given: "Academician Konstantin Frolov: 'Dignity and Charity—This Is What Our Society Lacks Today'"]

[Text] [Kozhemyako] Konstantin Vasilyevich, how did the "Dignity and Charity" movement come into being?

[Frolov] It has three parents, you might say. They are the All-Russia Organization of War, Labor, Armed Forces, and Law-Enforcement Organ Veterans, the All-Russia Invalids Society, and the "Chernobyl" Union of Russia. Behind them, the movement's founders, are more than 30 million Russian citizens—the most vulnerable and unprotected socially. In my view it will appear strange if these people do not have people to express their interests in parliament.

[Kozhemyako] Do you see yourself in just such a role?

[Frolov] Above all. Although I will make the proviso that I disagree when people call our electoral association corporative, i.e. narrowly directed. We care about the misfortunes of all society, which finds itself in a very grave state, but you will agree that old people, invalids, and victims of ecological disasters are the most deprived.

The impoverishment of the majority of the people in our country, who have crossed the line into poverty, is well known, but pensioners and invalids undoubtedly have the emptiest pockets. Or take unemployment, which is advancing upon us increasingly irreversibly. Who, primarily, is being cut back? Once again, it is those who are older and weaker. Just two years ago 30 percent of pensioners were working. Under Union law 5 percent of jobs were firmly assigned to pensioners. This is now being consigned to oblivion. Among third-category invalids capable and desirous of working, just one in six now has this opportunity.

The problem of medicines, whose prices have become simply fantastic, is shortening human life. Many people are finding even funerals beyond their reach.

[Kozhemyako] Yes, the reforms being implemented in Russia have not yet improved but have worsened the position of its citizens. At any rate, the overwhelming majority of them. Hence a natural question is put to any electoral association: about its attitude to these reforms. Tell me, do you oppose them?

[Frolov] Of course not, our association is in favor of reforms, but what kind—that is the question. We advocate reforms for people, not at their expense. This is the essence of our election platform. The main thing in its contents may be defined as follows: There is a need for urgent measures to halt a further production slump and end the slide toward hyperinflation, which casts more and more new masses of people into the abyss of poverty and degrades human dignity. A kind of limit has already been reached here and cannot be crossed. This is why we deem it necessary for the government to submit to society a clear-cut state social program comprehensible to everyone and guaranteeing Russia's citizens a worthy living standard, social stability at all subsequent stages of the reform, and confidence in tomorrow not only for us but also for our children and grandchildren.

[Kozhemyako] A noble aim, but what are the ways to achieve it? For, in order to improve people's lives, it is necessary to increase production, which is literally on its back in our country today.

[Frolov] Unfortunately, this is so. It seems to me that the elaboration of a credit and tax system which will ensure that all kinds of production activity are encouraged must be one priority measure. There is no such mechanism at present. I will give you a characteristic example. By last year 500 veteran cooperatives had been set up in Russia, but now 100 of them have already collapsed. Why? Not only because they did not receive the necessary support with premises and materials at the first stage. Fourteen kinds of taxes were also levied on them! Can you imagine? This prevented a good initiative from getting off the ground. People wishing to provide themselves with worthy, honest labor found themselves deprived of that opportunity.

[Kozhemyako] Konstantin Vasilyevich, you work in science, which is also having by no means the best of times in our country. Do you believe in a real change of attitude to science in our society?

[Frolov] Otherwise there can simply be no question of any spiritual and material rebirth of Russia. Only recently we took rightful pride in our science, education, and enlightenment, and the world treated us with the greatest respect. Now, alas, we are losing much ground. Suffice it to say that the share of spending on scientific research in the expenditure part of the budget has fallen by almost one-third this year. The average monthly wage in science stands at half of the wage in industry. A number of institutes and scientific centers are in a critical state. This is precisely why, in enshrining in our election platform the need to renounce the leftover principle for funding the social sphere, we gave a special mention to science and education. When defining the priorities here, it is necessary to give preference to investments in people, not in "iron."

[Kozhemyako] People's social protection is the linchpin of your association's election platform. But some people say: Rich and poor have appeared in society—which is perfectly normal—and there must be no egalitarianism.

[Frolov] Unfortunately, our society now divides up into a handful of superrich people and a mass of people who can barely make ends meet. It is a great pity that the latter include people with higher education: engineers, physicians, teachers, and many others. I believe that it would be fair if the most superrich people shared part of their superincome with the poor. I am not talking of handouts. They degrade people's dignity. True charity is quite different. In our view the state's entire social policy must serve it.

[Kozhemyako] Let us imagine that you have already become a Duma deputy. With what will you begin your activity?

[Frolov] Well, it is hard to say. Maybe by raising the question of compensation for Savings Bank deposits embezzled from the population, particularly from people of the older generation: This is, after all, a debt of the state. Maybe it is worth suggesting adopting, without delay, a law on the status of veterans and on the veterans movement, for which there has long been a need, and a law on intellectual property—in order to protect the interests of every author of a scientific or artistic work...

Social Democratic Party Goals Expounded

PM1911162193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Yuriy Khavkin, member of the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Russia: "Elections: Our Program. Social Democrats: Both Security and the Market Are Possible Even in Russia!"]

[Text] We are on the verge of a new stage of Russian reform. So far reforms have perforce occurred via elite-inspired economic measures. However, without the legal backup for any manifestations of either commercial or noncommercial initiative on the part of all and sundry there has not been nor can there be competition or market. That is why the Social Democratic Party of Russia [SDPR] regards the formulation of new economic and civil legislation as its main task.

It has taken the current developed countries several centuries to resolve these problems. It was only in the 20th century, and only in places where the social democrats or their functional equivalent were strong enough to introduce the principles of social partnership, that it proved possible to establish civil peace in society. It was the Democrats in the United States, the Labor Party in Britain and Australia, the social democrats and socialists in continental Europe and Japan who were the political force that—often without even having a parliamentary majority—was able practically to coordinate the interests of diverse social groups by dint of intricate work on the legislation of their countries.

As we approach the elections we, Russia's Social Democrats, are aware of the difficult and responsible job that deputies will have to do to carry out their pledges to the voters. That is why every SDPR candidate has signed a contract on coordinated work in parliament and has pledged to resign if he considers it impossible to continue implementing his election pledges.

We pledge to strive for the inadmissibility of uncontrolled executive power and of officialdom as a whole by establishing systems-coordinated [sistemnosoglasovannyy] legislation and the opportunity to file charges against the state for failure to implement the social section of the budget. The "welfare states" long ago introduced the market into the "third world," but few have attained the former's level on this path.... They are notable for the proportion of national wealth channeled into the social sphere. Noncommercial turnover in all "Western countries" hovers around the one-third mark! This alone produces the effect of social equilibrium typical of the societies which we are urged to emulate, without however being in any hurry to explain on what these societies are based. A market is an essential but insufficient condition.... Economics is not an emotional thing, but matters are ultimately decided by the emotions that it engenders in us.

The civilized world is in practice controlled by investors. It is they who decide what sector to give funding priority to, which projects should be elaborated and which should not.... They have the power. The SDPR has some means at its disposal to ensure the smooth transition from centralized investment to a system of civilian investment. Let me dwell briefly on the social section.

Hitherto as taxpayers we have not had any guarantees that the state would spend the money it receives from us on precisely the needs for which it was supposedly collected from us. Coordinated reform of the budgetary and tax system will enable each one of us to know what proportion of every ruble we pay is spent on what. What is more, if the distribution of this money is fixed, each taxpayer will, within the limits of this distribution, have an opportunity to autonomously control a certain proportion of his deductions. Why should we pay the state all the money due from us for the maintenance of education, say, in the form of taxes? Why should we not give a certain proportion of this money direct to the schools where our children study or use our money in another targeted way for what we see as the good of society? Each of us will be able to become an investor and will decide how much money is spent on creches, how much on kindergartens, how much on schools, and how much on higher educational establishments. And our proposed system of state control guarantees the country against the theft of funds. It has already been expertly evaluated by the tax inspectorate and a number of international organizations.

Now a word about property. The main demand on it from those who do not possess it is that it should work. Property must be in the hands of those people who can really provide us with highly paid work! The present privatization is an interim, semi-kolkhoz compromise. There was no other option under the former Supreme Soviet. It is a phase. It is necessary to go further. Otherwise employment problems will overwhelm our country.

Property is not an absolute. Control over its use is a mandatory component of a rule-of-law state. The freedom of any of us is naturally restricted by our duty not to harm other people. As consumers we need protection from monopoly producers; as workers—from employers' tyranny; and as human beings we need a healthy environment. Our children need education, while invalids and pensioners need social protection.

Appropriate legislation is needed—antimonopoly and labor legislation and legislation on noncommercial activity. The real rights of such civil society organizations as consumers' societies, trade unions, and charitable organizations must be enshrined alongside the state's supervisory functions in these matters. But these rights are still weak. Thus, during the transitional period all of us, not just the deputies, will have to put in some work. The flexible taxation that I described above will make it possible to reduce the revenue section of the state's budget as its functions are transferred to civil society. Simply lowering taxes or increasing the budget deficit has already hit society with a social crisis.

Now a word about another blatant problem. In order to restore every citizen's sense of being protected by the state it is necessary to complete the judicial reform and considerably reinforce law-enforcement organs, and if spending on reequipping them is carried out within the framework of the conversion program, then at least we will not be spending money twice. The state orders whose absence is causing such suffering for the defense industry should be aimed at defending people against ever-increasing crime.

Democratic Party Discloses Election Tactics

LD1911171893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1429 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The Democratic Party of Russia (DPR), the first to win the right to run for the forthcoming Russian elections, has decided to disclose some things that had remained behind stage so far. Chairman of the DPR board Valeriy Khomyakov and chief of the party's election campaign headquarters Yevgeniy Malkin told a press conference here today how the party was conducting the election campaign and spending its money.

Khomyakov said that the party had already spent on the election campaign more than 180 million roubles, mainly for booking time on the air. The DPR leaders claimed that all the parties and movements had to pay money for what the pro-government "Russia's Choice" got actually free of charge. They were mostly referring to air time on the TV.

The DPR election campaign is financed mostly by the industrialists of the Urals, Tyumen, Moscow, and northern Russia.

The DPR is paying much attention to advertisements. It was the first party, from among the parties and election blocs permitted to take part in the elections, to organise direct TV advertisements. The press conference was told that an average Russian voter had a very vague idea about the existing parties and associations, and "confuses the DPR with the Democratic Russia bloc". Therefore, the DPR has decided to make broad use of advertisement strips.

The DRP regards as one of the strongest elements of its election campaign the fact that its election lists are topped by such popular politicians and public leaders as DPR leader Nikolay Travkin, film director Stanislav Govorukhin, Academician Oleg Bogomolov, and ex-minister Sergey Glazyev. Another strong point of the DPR, its leaders believe, is that the party has a ramified regional network.

Popov on New Constitution, Economic Policy

LD1911181393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—Either a new constitution is adopted or the Soviet constitution remains valid. There is no other choice. Such is the attitude of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms to the adoption of the new Russian constitution. Gavriil Popov, the chairman of the movement, said this at a news conference on Thursday [18 November]. He said the draft constitution put to the referendum should be adopted, even through it is criticised in many aspects. The draft constitution is the foundation of the legitimacy of new power. However, the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms deems it necessary to declare that the draft constitution should only serve as the country's fundamental law for the transition period.

Popov sharply criticised the economic policy conducted by the government. He dwelt on the situation in the coal industry. He believes the coal industry altogether and the mines in particular have suffered from the incompetent policy of the shock therapy.

Aleksandr Sergeyev, chairman of the Independent Union of Miners who participated in the news conference said that Vorkuta miners, withdrawing support from pro-government election blocs, declared they will vote for the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms. He said this decision is logical. "Miners have always had claims to the government. But they refrained from aggravating the situation", he said. Sergeyev stated the miners insist that the interests of a proprietor and of a hired worker be balanced.

Yavlinskiy Not To Take Part in Referendum

LD1911200893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The outstanding economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy does not intend to take part in the December 12 voting on the draft new Constitution because he believes preparations for the referendum are undemocratic. He made the statement at the news conference devoted to the election program of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" alliance. According to Yavlinskiy, the Constitution cannot be legitimate without extensive public debate of all its provisions.

Yavlinskiy said that he does not like some provisions in the bill, for example, the president's omnipotence and Russia's federative structure. He said that such Constitution creates more problems than it solves.

Yavlinskiy believes it should be better at present to adopt a temporary bill which will enable the parliament and the public to conduct further discussion on the political structure in Russia. A coordinated bill should be adopted under the parliament auspices. It should serve as the basis for presidential, local and parliamentary elections. If so, Russia will receive a reliable system of legislative and executive powers, said Yavlinskiy.

He called the main goals of his economic program the changes in property legislation, the demonopolization of the economy and the creation of competitive markets.

Yavlinskiy considers senseless the government's efforts to combat inflation since it is fighting the symptom, not the disease. In conditions of the absence of private property in industry, indefinite property relations, militarized production structure and the absence of competitiveness, it is impossible to combat inflation, he said.

Yavlinskiy believes his economic goals could be attained in three-four years where it would be expedient to speak about the reduction of the inflation rates down to 3 percent per month.

Yavlinskiy Bloc Members Split on Constitution

MK2011112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 81, 20 Nov 93 (Signed to press 19 Nov) p 3

[Reporty by Dmitriy Volkov under the "Campaign" rubric: "The 'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin' Bloc: All Economists Except Gaydar. 'Yabloko' Has No Uniform Position on the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] Vladimir Lukin, Russia's ambassador to the United States and a leader of 'Yabloko,' on Thursday put forward three basic theses which, in his opinion, turn this alliance and its supporters into a single political force. First, 'Yabloko' places "a thrust on adjusting the reform from the point of view of the price" that society has to pay for it; second, the bloc's members share each other's concern over the fate of "Russian democracy and parliamentarianism;" and third, they "are concerned over a whole number of other problems."

A prominent Yabloko leader (number 10 on the slate), Academician Nikolay Petrakov, came out with a sharp critique of the economic course of the government and "Yegor Gaydar's team" which "has not yet appreciated the real situation in Russia." The "economic legacy" left over by the Soviet Union, according to Mr. Petrakov, cannot be transformed into a market economy "on the principles of self-organization, i.e., economic Darwinism." "The state," Petrakov said, "should have been forcefully inculcating the market by way of repentance for its destruction, and not merely allowing it." Mr. Petrakov's program contains provisions that the state should have an active role in transforming society and that in order to overcome inflation, priority should be given to restructuring—in other words, ensuring the growth of state investments and not the monetarist methods of stabilizing finances, which he regards as "futile exercises." True, according to Vladimir Lukin, the ongoing inflation testifies to the "vested interests of certain people" who are making easy money under such conditions.

It is not quite clear how fully Mr. Petrakov's economic views correspond to the program of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, the bloc's recognized leader. In the past, at any rate, Mr. Yavlinskiy, despite his sometimes tough criticism of certain actions by Yegor Gaydar, said there were no fundamental disagreements between them over the general reform concept. Mr. Petrakov for his part maintains that all "professional economists who are part of Gaydar's team have very much in common." The differences in 'Yabloko' members' approaches to key internal political issues, however, are perfectly obvious.

Mr. Petrakov also criticized sharply the draft constitution submitted by Boris Yeltsin to the 12 December referendum, as well as the procedure for its proposed adoption. "I shall do everything possible to ensure that our bloc does not support this constitution at the referendum. Regardless of what is written there, the procedure and mechanism of adopting the draft are in essence illegitimate," he stated. Another prominent Yabloko participant, Viktor Sheynis, however, told the same press conference that he thinks that the draft is the best of those available, "or at any rate, the least inadequate," and that he will vote for it, while the bloc has so far not worked out a common position on this question.

Mr. Petrakov, meanwhile, believes that if the draft is "rubber stamped" at the plebiscite, elections to the Federal Assembly will become senseless because the draft envisions a different procedure. Vladimir Lukin said that should the draft be defeated, the new parliament will combine the functions of a representative body and a constituent assembly. A symbiosis, it needs to be pointed out, that is not quite convincing.

Vladimir Lukin stated facetiously that Yabloko is firmly counting on a majority in the State Duma even though the bloc's leaders consider its powers insufficient to influence Russia's domestic policy. The bloc's sharp criticism of the presidential economic course and political practice is apparently designed not to announce a program of actions the bloc intends to carry out, but to present an alternative to measures that Russia's Choice makes no secret of planning to implement.

Kovalev, Yavlinskiy Blocs Discuss Program Similarities

LD1911225093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2123 GMT 19 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of Russia's Choice and of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc met in Moscow today. Opening the meeting, Sergey Kovalev [chairman of Russia's Choice], remarked that it is sad that democrats are contesting the elections in so many blocs and associations. Pavel Ryazantsev reports:

[Ryazantsev] Leaders of Russia's Choice and of Yavlinskiy's bloc today presented their views to the electorate in the Moscow Aviation Institute club. It is easier to judge others rather than oneself, and so both were asked about their opponents' strong and weak points. Leaders of Yavlinskiy's bloc said that the strong point of Russia's Choice is the fact that it is supported by the state structures, while its weak point is the fact that it is held responsible for the state structures' mistakes. The chairman of Russia's Choice said that the strong point of Yavlinskiy's bloc is the social orientation of its programs, while its weak point is its indecisiveness in carrying out these programs.

Even before starting a political debate with his rivals, Sergey Kovalev said:

[Begin Kovalev recording] There are no fundamental differences between our programs. [end recording]

Zhirinovskiy Airs Political Views in TV Election Program

LD1911234593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1850 GMT on 19 November carries a 26-minute election program called "For the Voter." The program includes political advertisements for the Liberal Democratic Party and includes a 12-minute recorded address by party Chairman Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Zhirinovskiy says the main topic of his address is the state and its borders. He says: "In this respect there are many sore issues. Without resolving them we will be unable to move ahead, let alone improve our economy and guarantee the safety of our citizens."

Zhirinovskiy advocates that Russia should revert to the previous "guberniya" system and be made up of 40-50 self-governing guberniyas with a population of 3-5 million people. He says: "We should not have a division into ethnic groupings, otherwise we will permanently have conflicts." He explains that this will help create a simple four-link model of executive power—village leader, town head, governor, president—with one president for the whole of Russia and one central Russian Government.

He sees the future borders of the Russian state as they were before: "What the Russian Empire had, what the USSR had, all these are Russia's borders." He explains that certain areas of Estonia, Lithuania, and Moldova belong to Russia: "Events in Tajikistan have shown that the people of Tajikistan and its leadership very much want to be together with the Russian state." Zhirinovskiy goes on to say: "In order for the violence reigning in Afghanistan not to spread to Central Asia the leaders of Central Asia should recall that never on the historical map of the world have there been such states like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan."

Zhirinovskiy goes on to say: "I think that the Japanese leadership will stop making claims on the Kurils." The Sea of Okhotsk should become an internal sea of Russia and a 200-mile zone should be declared." He continues: "In the south there is a problem. I set out this problem in my book which is entitled *The Final Push South.* It outlines the main guidelines for the future foreign policy of the future Russian government and geopolitical problems as a whole." He explains that the south includes Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey.

In conclusion, Zhirinovskiy recommends his party's newspaper: the PRAVDA ZHIRINOVSKOGO, which is published once a week, and the SOKOL ZHIRINOVSKOGO for young people.

Follwoing Zhirinovskiy's address, there is a advertisement for the Democratic Party of Russia with brief clips showing Nikolay Travkin, Stanislav Govorukhin, and Oleg Bogomolov. This is followed by a 13-minute video feature for Russia's Choice with a half-minute Gaydar voice excerpt addressing an election meeting, and a half-minute Ella Pamfilova excerpt at an election meeting. The remainder of the program consists of songs interspersed with footage based on the 3-4 October events at the White House. The program ends with a repeat of the advertisement for the Democratic Party of Russia.

Shokhin on PRES Electoral Platform, Fears Social Explosion

MK2011121093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 81, 20 Nov 93 (Signed to press 19 Nov) p 3

[Report by Yelena Kolokoltseva: "Aleksandr Shokhin: Russia May Be in for a Social Explosion. New Government Will Have To Sacrifice Financial Stabilization"]

[Text] A series of meetings by leaders of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES] with the regional elite, potential voters, and journalists was continued the day before yesterday by Aleksandr Shokhin, who gave a press conference devoted to the PRES' election campaign-related problems at the "Slavjanskaya" hotel. This was perhaps the deputy prime minister's first personal appearance—formerly Aleksandr Shokhin had to answer questions regarding his participation in the election campaign either in tandem with Sergey Shakhray or in press conferences on the government's current economic policy. This press conference, however, mirrored those of the past few weeks, but the other way around: the deputy prime minister's first comments concerned talks that were held that same day—with Ukraine on nonpayments problems, with Kazakhstan on setting up a payment union, and with Tajikistan on problems relating to a ruble zone. After this, the deputy prime minister said fully legitimately: "Now you can understand how difficult it is for a government member who has not taken a vacation to engage in election campaigning."

Regarding the current economic situation in the country, the PRES leader noted that there is a serious threat that hidden unemployment may evolve into an open one in 1994. Then, given the unequal distribution of the population among regions, the country may be in for a social explosion. This is why in 1994 the government will have to choose between planned macroeconomic indicators and the hotbeds of social tensions that may emerge in these conditions. Given this, the deputy prime minister believes that the future government will have to sacrifice the interests of financial stabilization in order to avert the social explosion.

Aleksandr Shokhin also noted that the current economic situation has been complicated by the fact that the industry's capacities for adjustment have been exhausted. This calls for a selective support for sectors and industries that could actually achieve economic growth right now. The deputy prime minister also believes that if inflationary financing is to be avoided, selective support should be given via commercial businesses, banks, and investment funds, and also that a shift should be made from government guarantees to project financing and privatization, that anti-monopoly legislation should be amended, and that bottom-up process of setting up industrial-financial groups that are able to find sources to finance the modernization of their own enterprises should be promoted.

As for the election campaign, Aleksandr Shokhin pointed out that, in his view, his party has already won the first two preliminary rounds. The first argument in favor of his party is that it ranks second in terms of the number of signatures collected for the registration of its party list. The second one is his party's course toward backing the current prime minister. However, Mr. Shokhin remarked, the "Russia's Choice" bloc plans to make a statement on its support for the prime minister in the very near future.

Russia's Choice Plans Ecological Revival of Russia

LD2211104093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1014 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—A programme of ecological revival of Russia drawn up by the Russia's Choice bloc was presented to the press by Russia's Environmental Minister Viktor Danilov- Danilyan, who was nominated for a seat in the State Duma, the lower chamber of Russia's new parliament, the Federal Assembly, from this bloc. He appeared in the press house today in the frame of the bloc's electoral campaign.

The minister said that "legal uncertainty" exists in the field of environmental protection in Russia and stressed that it would be soon necessary to create "a legal framework for the environmental protection activity in line with the new Constitution". According to him, the framework should determine the interaction between the federal authorities and parts of the Federation in using natural resources.

The minister draw attention to the considerable capital outlays to realize the country's ecological policy. These outlays are only possible if the national economy is normalized. Nonetheless, the system of environmental protection must be strengthened already now, particularly environmental control and expert assessment.

Danilov-Danilyan said the enterprises which pollute the atmosphere will have to pay about 300 billion roubles in fines this year. He said it is inadvisable to raise the rates because this can result in undermining the effectiveness of production without improving the state of the environment.

The minister said that work has begun to work out programmes of environmental normalisation of the regions. He rejected allegations circulated by the REUTERS that Russia has dumped in the world ocean half a Chernobyl of radioactive waste. He specified that the actual amount of radioactive waste dumped in the sea by Russia is less by two magnitudes.

A press release circulated at the press conference recalled the well-known parameters of the ecological disaster in the country. It said that "a half of the Russian people drink water which does not meet established standards, and one-third of them become subject to effects of toxic substances exceeding the permissible level ten times at least once a year.

Russia's Choice is planning an ecologic revival of Russia based on a considerable reduction of human and industrial influence on the environment, including by normalizing effluent to the atmosphere and industrial and farming discharges into the soil and water. The programme stresses the need to develop "a network of regeneration" of the deteriorating natural systems.

Election Alliances' Durability Viewed

PM1911145393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by political observer Aleksandr Batygin: "Taking Them at Their Word, Judging Them by Their Deeds"]

[Text] Only a real enthusiast will cope with the list of candidate deputies to the State Duma published 12 November in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Is it a joke when it covers nearly nine pages! Thirteen electoral associations have been registered by the Central Electoral Commission and initially 35 associations tried to storm the "parliament cliff." Those who received the right to take part in the struggle for deputies' seats include supporters of a pro-government and pro-presidential course, centrists, and the opposition (soft and hard)—almost the entire spectrum of political forces is represented in the published lists. As Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said, this is "an absolutely normal situation, natural for the present political state of the country and of society, which is seeking to build a democratic state."

The election campaign knows no respite. All 13 associations which have received the right to take part in the struggle for seats in the new parliament have already joined the election struggle and are engaged in agitation among the Russians. Let us recall that the lower chamber of parliament—the State Duma—should have 450 deputies, 225 of them from party lists, the other 225 from one-seat districts. Russians have never encountered this novelty before—this is the first time candidate deputies to the Duma have been nominated from party lists to a two-chamber parliament. The idea of the multiparty system has thus been recognized in our country.

How will the struggle for electors' votes proceed, what trumps will the various blocs play in the keen rivalry? It is not hard to suppose that the key word in the political vocabulary will be "reforms," and the main struggle will develop between supporters of various reform models differing in terms of pace and nature. Understandably, it is easier for a future parliamentary majority to emerge as the leader by pooling efforts. Essentially the "teams" have already been formed. Political scientists and their journalist colleagues include among the obvious favorites the "Russia's Choice" bloc headed by First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar with solid support from the executive power apparatus (it has 14 government members on its lists) and "Democratic Russia" which relies on a ramified network of grassroots organizations. "Russians'Choice" considers the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc and Anatoliy Sobchak's Russian movement for democratic reforms to be its main allies.

To all appearances the Gaydar supporters do not see the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] headed by Sergey Shakhray as a future partner because, as Arkadiy Murashev, the Central Electoral Commission's "Russia's Choice" bloc representative, made clear when he addressed a press conference last Friday, the PRUA, together with the "Civic Union" and the Democratic Party of Russia, is centrist and in addition a number of candidates nominated by the PRUA in the regions do not suit "Russia's Choice."

Speaking on the radio on Sunday evening, Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, one of PRUA's leaders, expressed doubts as to the possibility of his party uniting with "Russia's Choice," about which there is a lot of talk right now. Shokhin called the Gaydar supporters functionaries and did everything to stress his party's democratic advantages over "Russia's Choice."" Well, if it's a struggle, then let it be a struggle!

The mutual support which we mentioned has far-reaching aims. One, if not the main one, is the removal of candidates in favor of each other. Another concern is not to overdo the election promises and avoid later putting their foot in it.

During his recent trip to krasnoyarsk Yegor Gaydar, addressing workers of the local "Kombaynovyy zavod" association, imparted plans from the bloc's program. ""Russia's Choice,"" he said, "is proposing to implement measures to stabilize the ruble, to introduce relatively low interest rates and relatively low taxes, and to ensure a guarantee of private ownership." The observance of these conditions, in Yegor Timurovich's opinion, will make it possible to act effectively not only in the immediate future but also in the long term.

Obstacles have already appeared on "Russia's Choice's" path toward the planned goals. Gennadiy Burbulis and Sergey Yushenkov complained that the pro-government bloc "labels stuck on by journalists" are harming "Russia's Choice" since quite a lot is expected of it and many complaints are therefore being leveled against it.

Will "Russia's Choice" win a majority in the Duma? So far we should not be in a hurry to draw such a categorical conclusion. After all the territorial districts will provide the other half of the deputies. In the regions the local factions are supported by regional business. At the same time the present election marathon seems to have caught Russian businessmen unawares. Russia's young business has not yet prepared its own cadres of parliamentarians and lawyers and for most businessmen renouncing work in a concern or firm for the sake of a deputy's seat is a dilemma. And indeed throughout the world businessmen prefer not to make an appearance in politics but to create influential lobbies in the government and parliament.

The future opposition in the new parliament can be judged by the statements by Gennadiy Zyuganov, the Communists' leader—his party has collected 150,000 signatures, easily jumping the first hurdle toward deputies' seats. He is calling for the blocking of the adoption of Boris Yeltsin's "antipopular Constitution." The further aims of the Russian Federation Communist Party can be guessed—the creation of a coalition opposition government.

There is no doubt that we must include among the opposition the very influential Agrarian Party of Russia, which has collected more signatures than anyone—0.5 million sheets of signatures. Its election platform will undoubtedly find sympathy among rural inhabitants.

...Less than a month remains until the parliamentary elections. Last weekend there was a real "storming" of the electorate undertaken to collect the necessary number of signatures for candidates to both chambers of the federal parliament. The election campaign in Russia, having passed through the stage of collecting signatures in support of candidates, has entered a new phase.

It is not out of the question that after all the election storms in parliament itself the "interest-based" blocs which were hastily cobbled together will fall apart and some deputies will disagree with their parties' "general line." We have seen plenty of similar transformations, particularly recently. Meanwhile what is left for voters is to take their leaders and idols at their word in order later to judge from their deeds their ability to resolve Russians' numerous problems.

Ostankino TV Accused of Partisan Tactics

MK1911113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Irina Petrovskaya from the "Television" column: "Vyacheslav Bragin and Other Ostankino Functionaries Canvass for Their Choice. Taxpayers Money Used in the Interests of One Party"]

[Text] On 22 November the election marathon on the airwaves will kick off. In the course of the official casting of lots the parties and blocs have received equal shares of air time to campaign on the main federal TV channels. Television, however, joined the election campaign as soon as the elections were called. For a long time it was impossible to understand the rules of the game; apparently they did not exist except for one: "green light" on air time to Russia's Choice. All events by this bloc were given most detailed coverage in "Novosti" news programs. After the 2100 "Novosti" program on Ostankino Channel 1, 10- to 15-minute programs began to appear under the Rezonans studio trademark. They were called variously: "Topical Interview," "Topical Report," and so forth, but there was no particular topicality about them except for the fact that its participants were affiliated with Russia's Choice. Likewise, nothing suggested that this time was paid for by the side interested in political promotion. Ostankino leaders assured the public that all the blocs, parties, and movements without exception had equal conditions.

True, a very curious fact soon transpired: Ostankino's top executives—Chairman Vyacheslav Bragin and his first deputy Kirill Ignatyev, and also several Ostankino employees, including Leonid Radzikhovskiy, artistic director of the Rezonans studio (the one that has been preparing election coverage programs), were included in the list of candidates to the State Duma from Russia's

Choice. Bragin himself, who was giving dozens of interviews at the time (he had to justify Ostankino's capitulation overnight from 3 to 4 October), somehow sought to bypass this piece of news, assuring the gullible interviewers that he had no particular political prejudices and that he simply holds liberal views.

The president's edict on media access [informatsionnyye] guarantees in covering the election campaign contains this provision: A journalist running for the State Duma or the Federal Assembly is obligated to suspend his professional activity until the election campaign has ended. The edict does not say, however, how the company's top administrators are to behave in this situation. In world practice such a combination of two types of activity is impossible because the authorities and society there are most concerned about the impartiality and objectivity of TV, especially during election time. Our society and our authorities are apparently most concerned that this powerful ideological weapon should be in the hands of "one of their own." In this respect there is no match for Bragin.

There is a great multitude of examples illustrating Ostankino's obvious political affiliation. Programs with the participation of particular representatives of Russia's Choice are camouflaged as being "simply" programs. For instance, Yegor Gaydar talks with Mstislav Rostropovich on "How to revitalize Russia?" Naturally, this program is not mentioned in the TV schedule; nor is there a report on Yegor Timurovich's trip to Krasnoyarsk shown Wednesday evening prior to "Public Opinion." In the "Public Opinion" program itself the participants were seated so artfully that the last in the row of speakers was invariably Anatoliy Chubays. And according to the laws of psychology, the last phrase is remembered best. Commercials are another example. A train is rushing along on the screen; written across it is the word "Privatization." The voice behind the screen announces: "Privatization is moving along all of Russia." Titles "Your choice is Russia's choice" appear on the screen. The latter word combination is naturally without quotation marks. Tennis. The Kremlin Cup. Gennadiy Burbulis is warming up on the court. Asked by a correspondent what tennis means in his life, he says: "It means very much—almost as much as women." Nothing human is foreign to them, the footage authors are trying to have us believe.

Meanwhile all the above examples have a clear definition—"political advertising." There is nothing objectionable about it; it was not us who invented it, but... parties, blocs and movements must pay for political advertising at the going commercial rates while the viewer has the right to know that he is watching precisely a political promotion clip and not "simply" a program. There is no doubt that Russia's Choice is not paying for political promotion because when other political parties promote themselves, TV so announces. Thus, last Friday a female announcer, after giving a sympathetic smile, notified viewers that the film coming next on the program will be shown later because the time allotted for it has been bought by Civic Union to conduct its election campaign. This is quite normal—to buy time, and the president's edict authorizes paid political advertising, but...does the company have the right to sell prime time when a peak viewing audience has gathered around the TV screens? After all, TV must also consider the interests of the taxpayers who support it with their money. It is also clear that Arkadiy Volskiy's statement, shown in place of a U.S.-made movie, will evoke nothing but irritation with the viewers and therefore potential voters. This must be the reasoning behind it, if our propagandists are capable of making such smart calculations at all.

They say that he who controls TV will win the elections. TV itself is suggesting, with maniacal tenacity: "Either Russia's Choice or the communists. There is no other alternative." According to a sociological survey conducted by the "Itogi" program, Russia's Choice ranks first it terms of popularity ratings, and the communists are second. Sergey Shakhray, who commented on these results, believes that this correlation has been brought on by TV. Through its shameless manipulation it can again extremely polarize society, which will hardly be able to identify other ideas and faces in the blurred, distorted spectrum of political forces.

Meanwhile Vyacheslav Bragin is still in place. The arbitration media court, which considered his "case" at its own initiative, ruled that the combination of two types of activity is acceptable both from a legal and an ethical point of view and recommended for him to suspend one of them. Which of his activities he will suspend and whether he actually will is not so important now. It is not Bragin who really matters.

Court Makes Recommendations for TV Canvassing

LD1911185293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—A court of arbitration of the media has made "recommendation No. 2" on Friday [19 November], reminding of the fact that the air-time of television programmes broadcast by regional companies and featuring the election campaign should not coincide with the air-time of canvassing carried out by federal companies.

In another document entitled "Recommendation No. 3" the court of arbitration explains that the statute on information guarantees does not establish the deadline for applying for paid canvassing TV broadcasts.

At the same time, the court of arbitration agrees that reasonable terms of making applications should be stipulated and takes into consideration a request made by the Russian state-run radio and television company asking to make applications for paid broadcasts until November 19.

RTV Director on Election Campaign Broadcasts

PM2211125393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Sergey Podgorbunskiy, director of the Rossiya television channel, conducted by Aleksandr Pavlov under the "TV and the Elections" rubric; place and date not given: "Giving Everyone Equal Terms"]

[Text] The Federal Assembly election race has been a sprint rather than a marathon. The finishing line is just a few strides away. And it is at this stage that television and radio are joining in. Sergey Podgorbunskiy, director of the Rossia television channel [RTV], talks about how the election campaign will be organised on RTV.

[Podgorbunskiy] All our work in this area is based on the Statute on Information Safeguards for the Election Campaign. I won't detail its content, I will merely dwell on its main features. The Statute provides for two kinds of campaign broadcast—free and paid (commercial). Under the first option we, like Ostankino and the St. Petersburg Channel 5 company, are obliged to give all parties, blocs, and associations which have received Central Electoral Commission certification one hour of air time. As you will know, 13 have so qualified.

Television's main task is to ensure that everyone is given the most equal terms possible. For that, in addition to the same length of broadcast, the same broadcasting time—1845 to 1945 hours on weekdays—has been fixed. I would add that the parties and associations will receive an equal amount of time on Russian radio. That is to say, every one of them will have the opportunity to appeal to voters twice via Russian television and radio. The official election campaign starts 22 November and ends 8 December. These programs will go out under the title "Russia. Federal Assembly." The logo has already been prepared. As far as the format is concerned, that is all at the discretion of those taking part in the election campaign. Our role consists in providing them with the opportunity to expound their platform on air.

[Pavlov] But it is obvious, after all, that it is tactically more advantageous to broadcast as close as possible to the election day...

[Podgorbunskiy] Of course, and that is not the only difficulty. It is, after all, impossible to obtain complete equality of terms. Many questions arise here. In what order will the parties appear on all three channels of federation-wide television? What happens if some want to split their hour up into several broadcasts? Lots were drawn at the Central Electoral Commission on 16 November to resolve these and other problems. And here everything depended on chance. As a result the order of broadcasts and their "regulation" were established. Six associations wanted to make three 20-minute broadcasts, the rest two 30-minute broadcasts. We are ready to organize such a schedule. We also proposed the following option to "mitigate" the workings of chance: The order of appearance determined for television is reversed for radio: The first on television is the last on radio, and so forth.

I would like note that, although funds have been allocated to televion for these broadcasts, they do not cover our losses. Many planned programs, in which a lot of intellectual labor has been invested, will be removed from prime-time viewing, and advertising will also be lost at that time.

[Pavlov] Sergey Aleksandrovich, since we have touched on the financial aspect of the election campaign, would you please tell us about the terms of the paid campaign broadcasts.

[Podgorbunskiy] The commercial option may be taken up by parties and blocs until the end of the official campaign, that is to say, until the end of the free broadcasts. For this they must put in an appropriate application and pay the cost of the air time.

As Paragraph 6 of the aforementioned Statute points out, federation-wide television and radio companies are to proceed solely on the basis of covering their losses when determining the cost of the broadcast. This requires some clarification.

For example, the basic cost of one minute of broadcasting on RTV is determined at 550,000 rubles [R]. But you will appreciate that the cost of one minute at, say, around 1000 hours as opposed to the evening is very different. We will therefore be working on the basis of the actual cost. It is important only to stress that it will be identical for all parties. If you want to broadcast at prime time, you pay accordingly. Moreover, a campaign broadcast does not take place in a vacuum, a particular broadcast or program will already have been scheduled by the broadcasting network. It is okay if the program can "wait," as it were, that is to say, can be broadcast at another time. But what if it is time-sensitive or is pegged to a particular date or event? Along with the pure loss occasioned by its withdrawal, you also have to write off its production costs. In other words, those who want to have that particular time slot will also have to pay the cost of the broadcast that has been pulled for that reason. The pleasure comes pretty expensive. On the other hand, we have already received a number of applications for commercial campaign broadcasts. I think they will increase as we get closer to the election.

[Pavlov] Clearly, the scheduling of these programs will have to be coordinated with the other television companies, won't it?

[Podgorbunskiy] Of course, this is not an instance where it is necessary to compete. We must coordinate our actions, as the Statute makes clear, to avoid the overlapping of broadcasts. It only remains to be said that any conflict situations which may arise will be resolved by the specially created Information Arbitration Tribunal.

RTV Schedule of Political Broadcasts

LD2011160693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1420 GMT 20 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed viewers! We would like to draw your attention to the fact that for the election campaign period, from 1845 to 1945 [1545-1645 GMT] on weekdays, beginning on 22 November, Russian television will provide airtime to election associations. The program is called: Russia-Federal Assembly. It will be repeated in the morning from 0700-0800 [0400-0500 GMT] on weekdays. We bring to your attention the airtime schedule for the election associations. It has been drawn up following the results of the draw held at the Central Electoral Commission.

22 November (Monday)—1845-1915 - Civic Union; 1915-1945 - Russia's Future-New Names

23 November (Tuesday)—1845-1905 - Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms; 1905-1925 - Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc; 1925-1945 - Russia's Choice

24 November (Wednesday)—1845-1915 - Liberal-Democratic Party; 1915-1945 - Democratic Party of Russia

25 November (Thursday)—1845-1915 - Cedar; 1915-1945 - Communist Party of Russian Federation

26 November (Friday)—1845-1905 - Party of Russian Unity and Accord; 1905-1925 - Women of Russia; 1925-1945 - Russian Agrarian Party

29 November (Monday)—1845-1915 - Democratic Party of Russia; 1915-1945 - Communist Party of Russian Federation

30 November (Tuesday)—1845-1905 - Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc; 1905-1925 - Russia's Choice; 1925-1945 - Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms

1 December (Wednesday)—1845-1905 - Russia's Choice; 1905-1925 - Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms; 1925-1945 - Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc

2 December (Thursday)—1845-1905 - Party of Russian Unity and Accord; 1905-1925 - Russian Agrarian Party; 1925-1945 - Women of Russia

3 December (Friday)—1845-1905 - Party of Russian Unity and Accord; 1905-1925 - Women of Russia; 1925-1945 - Russian Agrarian Party

6 December (Monday)—1845-1915 - Liberal-Democratic Party; 1915-1945 - Dignity and Charity

7 December (Tuesday)—1845-1915 - Civic Union; 1915-1945 - Dignity and Charity

8 December (Wednesday)—1845-1915 - Cedar; 1915-1945 - Russia's Future-New Names

[Announcer] In addition, also on weekdays, at 2335 [2035 GMT], in line with the Russian Federation president's edict on information guarantees for participants in the 1993 election campaign, we are offering airtime which election associations can buy.

Parties' Funding Situation Viewed

PM2211113793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Kolesnikova: "But for the Central Electoral Commission's Money the Communists Would Have No Election Funds"]

[Text] By decision of the Central Electoral Commission [CEC] of the Russian Federation 13 election associations can open temporary accounts in Moscow at the Central Bank Main Administration's Main Accounting and Cash Center.

The first deposit into these accounts will be made by the CEC itself, which has pledged to allocate each election association 50 million rubles as "expenses."

My telephone call to the headquarters of the Communist Party of Russia interrupted a Central Committee members' discussion of current matters. After giving the Communist Party's view of Chubays, one of the Communist leaders stated that "the party has no money." The only hope is the "initial capital" given by the CEC. The Communists opened an account with the Central Bank on 18 November and now intend to strengthen the party materially and eventually to conduct an extended election campaign.

"The Liberal Democratic Party has money." At Mr. Zhirinovskiy's apparatus they gave a confident answer. The account was opened on 17 November. They have not received the millions promised by the Russian state yet and do not know when they will.

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord (the Shokhin-Shakhray bloc), like the Communists, is relying mainly on the CEC's money. The only nagging doubt is whether they will have time to withdraw the money from the account before the end of the election campaign: Central Bank payments take at least a week. The party has no other funds at the moment—it has been in existence for just a month.

Boldyrev Explains Decision To Run Independently

PM2211114993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Yuriy Boldyrev: No Change With Yavlinskiy and Lukin"]

[Text] The somewhat surprising decision of Yuriy Boldyrev, one of the leaders of the "Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, Lukin" election bloc, to run independently in St. Petersburg district triggered a host of rumors about a split in the leadership of G. Yavlinskiy's team.

The IZVESTIYA Editorial Office asked the "cause of the trouble" himself to comment on the situation.

"The fact that I am running for the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly on behalf of St. Petersburg certainly does not signify a withdrawal from the election bloc. That was stated quite clearly in our political council's declaration, which stresses: The political council supports my decision to run for the Federation Council and I retain the right to a full vote in the bloc's political council.

In Boldyrev's words, the disappearance of his name from the bloc's election list was dictated solely by the requirements of the provision on elections which does not allow prospective members of the Federation Council to feature simultaneously on the list of prospective members of the State Duma. The apparently unexpected decision in fact could not have been preplanned because when the bloc was formed the rules governing elections to the upper house had not been drawn up yet.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Discusses Economic Reform With Financiers

LD1911172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1622 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin met a group of Russian financiers in the Kremlin today to discuss progress and methods of the economic reform, the government anti-inflation and tax policy, the development of Russian banking and insurance and forms of commercial banks' participation in purpose-oriented programs and investments, the presidential press service reports.

The president stressed the increasing role of financial structures in formation of the market economy and their influence on rates of the economic reform. At the same time, he said the dialogue between financiers and state bodies is just beginning. Both sides said they wish to boost the interaction.

Boris Yeltsin noted he is concerned with the non-payment crisis, which affects every enterprise and Russian citizen. In his opinion, cooperation between the state and commercial banks in this sphere would have a major economic and political significance.

In their turn, the financiers expressed their interest in the improvement of credit and financial legislation.

The meeting outlined major areas of cooperation between the executive authority and financiers, including ways to stabilize the financial system.

Government Issues Statement on Economic Policy

LD1911173793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Government adopted today a statement on economic policy in late 1993 and 1994 to stress it will work to improve and boost Russian economy.

According to the document, the government will aim to lower the inflation, stabilize production, attract more investments and speed up structural reorganization. The main task is to lower the inflation to 15 per cent in January and three-five per cent in December 1994. The government plans to keep the federal budget deficit at five per cent of the gross domestic product.

As for the credit-monetary policy, the government will not allow mutual offsets of overdue payments with credits of the Central Bank.

The statement section dwelling on currency policy says the Russian Central Bank will not hold currency interventions to upkeep the rouble exchange rate and will work at the currency market to smooth fluctuations of the rouble exchange rate.

The pure gold Russian reserves are expected to reach no less than five billion U.S. dollars by the end of 1993.

Export quotas on non-energy goods will be mainly canceled by December 1993 and on energy carriers in 1994. Export dues will be lowered by average 50 per cent before the end of 1993 and canceled on the majority of commodities in 1994.

All limits on land property and land sales will be removed before the end of 1993.

The government will immediately start to use the law on bankruptcy.

The Russian Government declares it will strive for an economic union with all interested states of the former Soviet Union. The rouble zone will be formed after conditions for holding a common and efficient credit-monetary, financial, currency and customs policy are created.

Finance Minister Briefs Press

LD1911180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1740 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Government Presidium discussed today a specified republican budget for the fourth quarter of 1993.

The budget will be very tense due to the planned considerable reduction of spending, Russian Vice- Premier and Minister of Finance Boris Fyodorov told a news conference here today.

In his words, the government plans to cancel some of its previous resolutions on spending and will take measures, including those tax, to raise the revenues.

Nevertheless, major budget indices will be observed. The annual budget deficit will not exceed 11-13 trillion roubles, which is some ten per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. In the words of the minister, this figure generally meets the requirements of the International Monetary Fund and there is hope for receiving fund credits early next year.

The government plans to keep next year's federal budget deficit at five per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. Still, Fyodorov said this figure is rather large and testifies to the preservation of hard financial situation in 1994.

Details of Statement

LD1911193193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The Russian government meeting on Friday approved a statement on the country's economic policy for the year-end and 1994, the text of which has now been available to Interfax.

The government reaffirms commitment to economic recovery followed by economic growth and outlines urgent measures to curb inflation, halt production slump, increase investment and speed up structural changes. As its main priority, the government pledges to bring inflation down to 15 percent in January and 3-5 percent in December 1994 in an effort to boost up investment and output. To this end, the government will work together with the regions, the Central Bank of Russia and a future parliament.

1. Budget Policy

a) The budget deficit in the last quarter of this year will run at Rbs 5.5 Tn [trillion] including the cost of government bonds put at Rbs 0.9 Tn.

b) CBR [Central Bank of Russia] credits to the government will run at Rbs 4 Bn.

c) An additional Rbs 1.7 Bn revenue will be raised at the cost of slicing earlier government spending and imposing new taxes to narrow the deficit.

d) Next year's subsidies including financial support to the farming sector and northernmost regions will be consolidated in the federal budget.

e) Next year's deficit is planned at 5 percent of GDP with a third of this being covered by government bonds and securities.

2. Monetary and Crediting Policy

The following guidelines are envisaged in monetary and crediting policy

a) The Central Bank of Russia's money supply in the form of credits to the government and commercial banks is set at Rbs 6 Tn for the last quarter of this year.

b) The government is not to cover the difference in interest rates at the cost of the budget.

c) The government will aim at positive interest rates on central and commercial bank credits.

d) The CBR is not to bring its discount rate below 7 percent of that charged by the interbank credit market. The CBR will double its interest rate in respect of banks which owe it money.

e) Starting from this month, the CBR will auction credits and provide stock market loans.

f) At least 30 percent of CBR credits are to be auctioned or distributed through lombard loans in the first quarter of 1994, but no special purpose credits are to be distributed through CBR regional branches in 1994. Any financial support to the regions or sectors is to be covered from the budget.

g) Mechanisms are to be worked out to guarantee the repayment of special credits granted at the cost of CBR resources.

h) Defaulters will be barred from clearing their debt at the cost of CBR credits.

i) The CBR is to reform its system of reserve demands to increase bank investment in government securities.

j) Starting from 1994, the CBR and finance ministry are to strike a quarterly deal on the main guidelines of the monetary and crediting policy.

3. Currency policy

a) The Central Bank of Russia will not conduct currency intervention policy in order to maintain ruble's exchange rate and will strive to work on the currency market primarily to eliminate major fluctuations in the ruble's exchange rate.

b) In general, economic policy will be aimed at the gradual increase of ruble's purchasing capacity.

c) By the end of 1993 Russia's pure gold-currency reserves will be not less than $5 Bn.

4. Structural policy

a) Export quotas for non-energy goods will be abolished by December, 1993, and for fuel and energy in 1994.

b) Export customs duties will be cut down on the average by 50

before the end of 1993 and entirely abolished in 1994.

c) In 1994 the system of centralized export will be reduced by at least 3 times compared with 1993.

d) All import subsidies are to removed from January 1, 1994.

e) The government will try to avoid increasing import tariffs.

f) Restrictions on land ownership and sale of land will be abolished before the end of 1993.

g) In 1994 restrictions for production profitability will be abolished and the procedure to register entrepreneurial activity in several branches of economy (construction, transport) will be simplified.

h) The government will immediately start implementation of the decree on bankruptcy.

5. Ruble zone

a) The government will aim to create Economic Union with all interested countries of the former USSR.

b) A ruble zone will be formed after creation of appropriate conditions to pursue a single and efficient credit, fiscal, monetary and customs policy.

c) It is necessary to develop goods and currency markets which would provide for exchange of non-cash rubles of other countries for Russian rubles at exchange rates which are established given the demand and offer.

d) During the transition period the countries which have signed the Agreement on Creation of Economic Union will use banknotes issued in 1961-1992, the 1993 banknotes with special markings and other means of payment circulating only on their territories; they can also introduce their own national currencies.

Chernomyrdin on Meeting

LD1911204293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The budget was the subject of a discussion at a government sitting held today. [passage omitted]

Viktor Chernomyrdin gave us an interview after the sitting. He said that the budget deficit for the fourth quarter will be about 5.5 trillion rubles. There will be no increase in taxes in the near future, but excise duties will go up. Moreover:

[Begin recording] [Chernomyrdin] We are going to introduce tougher restrictions on imports. We will either stop importing goods that we currently import en masse and which we produce anyway, or raise the import duty on them.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will this kill competition? Will our enterprises be free to do anything they like?

[Chernomyrdin] No, on the contrary. We do not want our country to be turned into a dustbin. [end recording]

Apart from this, the government will suspend for the period of 1- 6 months the introduction of documents that were adopted. Budget cuts will not affect such industries as agriculture, defense and defense industry. The prime minister said the following at the end of the the interview:

[Begin Chernomyrdin recording] No matter how difficult it might be, we intend to increase wages from 1 December, so that higher wages can be received already in January. Whatever the difficulties, we keep finding solutions. [end recording]

Financiers Give Mixed Response to Edict on Foreign Banks

LD1911201893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Russian financiers have given mixed response to the presidential decree limiting the freedom of foreign banks in Russia.

Under that decree, signed by President Boris Yeltsin on Thursday [18 November], foreign banks and joint banking ventures with a share of foreign capital exceeding 50 percent which had not started providing services for Russian residents as of November 15 or which received licenses after that date, may provide no services for persons not permanently resident in Russia. The decree says this is a temporary restriction, to be in effect until January 1, 1996.

Sergey Zveryev, deputy general director of the Most financial and Investment group, in an interview with Interfax, said the decree was "correct, timely and fair." Such measures were "normal" and taken in many other countries as well, he said, expressing the hope that the Russian leaders would "pay more attention to the development of the Russian banking system, despite the pressure that is being put on them."

At the same time, an executive from Tokobank described the decree as protectionist and aimed at providing "greenhouse" conditions for "primitive" Russian commercial banks which were unable to withstand international competition. He said the measure would impede Russia's international economic integration and prolong the existence of numerous "stillborn" banks.

Major Russian banks started pushing for fetters to be put on foreign banks when the former Supreme Soviet was considering a draft law on banking. After the parliament was dissolved, they pressed their case with the government and presidential structures.

The matter was given top priority at Wednesday's meeting between key figures in Russian banking and First Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar, who advocated "tighter control" of foreign banks and assured the bankers that the government and new parliament would take up the matter, paying due attention to the opinions of Russian banks.

Gaydar Participates in Discussion on Economy

LD2011201393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0815 GMT on 20 November carries the 45-minute "How Shall We Live?" live studio discussion program chaired by Irina Yurevna. Guests are Yegor Gaydar, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation, Konstantin Titov, head of administration in Samara Oblast, and Leonid Polezhayev, head of administration in Omsk Oblast, who discuss the value of "shock therapy" in economic reform.

Gaydar says: "The most serious issue for us is that of the population's savings, of their fate. The reforms and the liberalization of prices have indeed begun. The savings which were accumulated by people before 1991 have depreciated dramatically and we have been asked frequently if something cannot be done about this. Unfortunately it would be dangerous to make empty promises here. At one time that money was used to finance expenditure on defense. It was practically squandered. It's gone. And to compensate in full for it today you would need for two years, for example, to stop financing culture, science, education, the military-industrial complex, the army, the police—in other words to bring the functioning of the state to a virtual halt.

"In its day, Germany, which, after the war, to all extents and purposes had frozen savings, reducing them to nothing - virtually confiscating them - returned them in one form or another after 10 years when it had become a dynamic, developing, efficient market economy.

"Perhaps, if we succeed in really putting our economy on the path of normal development, the resources which lay in their time in citizens' accounts will not be beyond our grasp and we will be able to follow that example, but only someone completely irresponsible could promise to solve this problem inside the next few months."

Further, Gaydar says: "As for decentralizing the budgetary system, I am in complete agreement and, moreover, this is in the program being carried out by the government. In 1994, we should be leaving behind the extremely inefficient and, I would say, humiliating practice of having to harmonize at numerous intervals in the course of a given year the budgets between the levels of the Federation.

"We expect that for 1994 we will have a universal distribution - constructed not on the basis of individual negotiations and dealings but universal and the same for all components of the federation - of federal revenues, VAT, profit tax, income tax and excise tax. We will expand considerably the rights of the subjects of the Federation in the province of taxation policy so that they will be able to vary it depending on whether or not they wish to have lower taxes and more modest in scale state expenditure or else even higher taxes and more plentiful social expenditure, proceeding from the situation as it arises locally.

"For us the main thing is to make a real move away from a situation in which the budgetary security of a region depends on the degree to which it has managed to raise a strong lobby in Moscow.

"On the second question, our most important task is to create preconditions for cutting back the level of rates of financing through credits from the Central Bank and credit rates on the whole. This is the core of the government's policy. It's another matter that the path towards this lies through the general and essential lowering of the rate of inflation. And towards this end, first and foremost we want to lower the rate of inflation. Why this fetish? Because at the present rate, no one will ever make investments on a massive scale. Only diehards would invest at present.

"At an inflation rate of 20 percent, profitable activities are those linked to either financial operations, currency operations, export and import operations - in a word: middleman operations. Everything else is a blind gamble, and the main thing is - why the false choice between manufacturing and fighting inflation? Given the present inflation, there will never be any investments in manufacturing."

Asked about his past and present policies on unemployment, Gaydar says: "Our opponents once slipped up rather badly with their unemployment predictions. If you remember, in 1992 we were promised that by the end of the year 20-30 million people would be unemployed, the whole of industry would be shut down, and so on. As we know, these predictions did not come true. For the time being, joblessness has not become the most acute and serious mass problem. There are problems of partial unemployment. There is the problem of compulsory leave and of a shorted working day, but according to all assessments which the State Committee for Statistics and the Federal Employment Service now has, so far the level of unemployment in Russia is one of the lowest for industrial economies. Without any doubt - this must also be said outright and honestly - this problem will get worse, it will get worse with restructuring, with the elimination of inefficient jobs. It is precisely for this reason that the task of the regulation of the labor market, the creation of new jobs, the creation of new effective jobs which will produce a decent profit, is the core of the structural policy of any responsible government, and at the same time, I would once again warn our opponents not to make such a major blunder again.

"The Russian economy has a whole range of specific features which will delay the pace of growth of unemployment over the next few years. These are specific relations between enterprises and workers. They are far closer then those which are typical, say, of Japan, than of U.S. enterprises. They are not purely the relations between an employer and a hired worker, they are paternalistic. In our country an enterprise is not just an employer but is in a certain sense a family. That is why in our country factors will always operate which delay the increase in unemployment. Enterprises prefer to opt for compulsory leave, shortening working days and reducing real wages, and only in extremis will they opt for serious mass redundancies. And I do not think - there are no facts that would persuade me that this situation will change in the course of the next few months and years. That is why joblessness in our country will rise slowly."

Going on to discuss support for business, Gaydar says: "Now the government has agreed a package of normative acts aimed at supporting small and medium business. The essence of this package is granting tax abatements to production enterprises engaged in priority spheres of small enterprise. As you'll understand, any tax measures are very serious measures. They must be passed by the parliament, the State Duma. And now the government has prepared and agreed in their definitive form such proposals for submission to the new parliament when it will be elected. Literally last week I held a conference in this connection and, evidently, we will submit this package and I hope that it will be supported by the new parliament. We have started work on the formation of a federal foundation of support for small enterprise. So far there is little money there. By the end of the year there will be some 15 billion rubles. Nevertheless, we are also beginning the analysis of priority projects which could become catalysts for the development of small enterprise, and at the same time we are forming the structure which can and must support small enterprise. Another substantial area of work is a change in the mechanism of registration of accounting will make it possible to considerable alleviate the management of affairs in a small enterprise. Here, too, measures have been planned. I hope that in the near future we will succeed in implementing them. So that I agree with you that this sphere is without a doubt a most important priority one. And here too we had both delays and omissions. I hope that we will be able to repair them in 1994."

Gaydar next answers a question about funding of agriculture:

"Underfinancing of programs connected with support for the countryside in 1993 was considerable and, moreover, we ourselves, as the state, have taken on an absolutely excessive burden. The idea that the state today when the market is operating must buy all grain from the farmers and then through state channels market all this grain to consumers is an idea which saddles the state with a huge reponsibility. Having done that, it simply does not have funds. Even when underpaying the defense industry workers for military output, underfinancing higher and secondary education and underfinancing the major social spheres, we are all the same unable to mobilize resources to settle in full and in good time, even though we are trying to do this. It is precisely for this reason, if one talks of urgent measures, that yesterday the government took the decision to postpone credits issued to agriculture until 1 December 1994, because it was unable to fulfill its obligations, but I think that we should not restrict to such kinds of measures valid for one occasion only, but think of how in 1994 not to reproduce this situation.

"Here there is only one method: shaping a normal land market, shaping a normal grain market, sharply reducing the state's responsibility in establishing the minimally necessary reserves and further giving people the opportunity to normally engage in economic support with some support, granting benefits on credits but in another form such as benefits for the deadlines for the payment of interests on credit, when the harvest has already been gathered in in reality, and not granting preferential credits, a colossal part in reality go to hard currency exchanges and not at all into agriculture."

Chubays Forecasts Economic Growth in 1995

LD2011163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1549 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Eduard Vasilyev]

[Text] Vladimir November 20 TASS—Russian Vice-Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays said on Saturday [20 November] that an economic growth in Russia will begin not earlier than in 1995.

Speaking at a meeting with directors, intellectuals and the clergy of the Vladimir region, Chubays said that the current stage of Russia's economic development is characterised by the end of production decline. "We hope the year 1994 will bring stabilisation. There may be some minor production decline but this will mean the beginning of production stabilisation," Chubays said.

He believes the main difficulties lie in the alteration of the structure of Russia's industrial potential, the structure of enterprises and their orientation. This will inevitably bring production decline, especially in converted defence enterprises, he noted. At present, conversion accounts for most state expenses, the vice-premier added. But it is these enterprises which have boosted the production of consumer goods in Russia in the last six months, he stressed.

Chubays paid special attention to inflation and prices in Russia. "Only through a series of tough financial and budget measures could we create a situation of consistent reduction of inflation rate. In August it was 25-26 per cent, in November prices will rise only by 15 per cent. The past week was marked by the record low inflation rate since the beginning of reforms in Russia," Chubays noted.

"Inflation and price rises remain the top-priority topic. Strong, unpopular and tough measures are of crucial importance here. However, it can be said that the country's financial system is ready for an absolutely new stage (of reform) and new processes of which we could not even hope in the last two years. I mean the beginning of investments in the economy," Chubays said.

"This is the most important result of the preceding stage of Russian reform during which the Russian economy has been put into a condition anticipating real investments," the vice-prime minister said.

Chubays stressed that "The policy of tough financial and credit measures has created the situation in which we can raise a question of reducing the credit rate of the Central Bank of Russia so that the credit would become cheaper. This would give yet another impetus to investments in the economy. We are convinced that a foundation has been built to make our economy fit for healthy investments based on private property which will not trigger uncontrolled price rises and inflation, but will create a real basis for production growth."

Speaking about the upcoming elections, Chubays, who is a member of the Russia's Choice election bloc, warned about the danger of populism in the present situation. "There are conditions for the election of such leaders and forces which can make any pledge just to get elected to the State Duma. They can promise to raise living standards, reduce prices or make any other irresponsible statements in pursuit of their own goals. But the situation is such that this cannot be done tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Only in 1995 an economic growth will begin. This will mean higher living standards, which is the main goal of all our transformations," Chubays said.

Minister Says No Increase in Taxes on Manufacturers

LD2111182493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1619 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] The Government does not find it possible to increase taxes levied from manufacturers, and comes out for reducing taxes levied from individuals, Deputy Finance Minister Aleksandr Pochinok told Interfax.

However, the excise on vodka and taxes on individual luxury items imported from foreign countries, including foreign-made cars of the Mercedes type, furniture and plumbing, will be increased.

The taxes are expected to be raised within the next few days, because "the government has tapped its reserves but is to repay large sums during the five weeks to go before the end of the year," said Pochinok.

He also noted that the search for additional sources of money had been the Russian financial bodies' central task. During this period, aid to the former Soviet republics was considerably cut down, strong limitations were imposed on privileges granted to foreign-trade organizations, and tax services' work was intensified.

Pochinok believes that the government has no other alternative. However, adjustments must be made in the areas where taxes slow down development. Serious corrections must be made in the exports sphere, because the exports of traditional goods (aluminum and other metals, for instance) have become loss-making and almost come to a halt because of high exports duties.

By contrast, the import duties are too small, said Pochinok. In the estimate of Yegor Gaydar, Russia's import tariffs amount to an average of 5%-6 %.

Pochinok expressed hope that by next March, Russia will have a new tax code which will help the Russian government "to feed all with five loaves of bread".

The most important thing is that the government ill not increase the printing of banknotes thus spurring inflation, to tackle the complicated problems facing it," said Pochinok.

Regional Affairs

Vorkuta Miners Demand Meeting With Chernomyrdin

LD2011180693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Miners in Vorkuta are demanding that a government commission headed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin comes to meet them without delay. This was reported by an ITAR-TASS correspondent. In the opinion of the miners, the commission that left Vorkuta yesterday failed to resolve all the problems the northerners are facing. The executive committee of the Russian Independent Trade Union of Miners is planning to carry out an itinerary meeting in Moscow on 26-27 November. The situation in this branch of the economy will discussed at the meeting.

Chechen Interior Ministry, Other Buildings Blown Up

LD2211130693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1126 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] In Chechnya's capital Groznyy, unidentified men blew up the buildings of the Interior Ministry, the Procurator's Office, the State Security Department, and the special division headquarters at around 3:00 A.M. on Monday. There has been no word about casualties so far.

But as the senior investigator for special affairs at the Procurator's Office Said-Magomet Mudugov has disclosed to an INTERFAX interviewer, a plastic mine was found at the site of one of the blasts. Such weapons, Mudugov explained, are kept in state army warehouses.

The weapon is of the same type that was used to blow up vital facilities in the capital on October 15, when Groznyy was left without electricity for virtually 24 hours.

Chechen Foreign Ministry Protests Russian 'Interference'

LD2111181893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1619 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] The Chechen Foreign Ministry has sent a note of protest to Russia's Foreign Ministry and demanded apologies in connection with "Russian interference not only in the internal affairs of Chechnya, but also in those of the Kingdom of Jordan".

"The Republic of Chechnya has been a sovereign state for over two years now, with Dzhokhar Dudayev as its president elected by the entire nation. As a sovereign state the Republic of Chechnya has the right to build civilized relations with all countries," said Chechnya's Foreign Ministry in its note.

On Thursday [18 November] Russia's Foreign Ministry expressed concern to official Amman in connection with "the pointedly official level of reception extended to D. Dudayev in Jordan, where he had a meeting on the highest level".

In early November President Dudayev made an official tour of countries in the Middle East and Africa. He visited Jordan, Sudan and Iraq, where he met with highest-ranking officials.

North Ossetia Approves Russian Draft Constitution

LD1911172493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Parliament of North Ossetia has passed a decision to approve the draft constitution of the Russian Federation. At the session held on Friday [19 November] in Vladikavkaz, deputies also voted to prolong the state of emergency on the territory of the Prigorodniy and Mozdok regions in North Ossetia.

A state of emergency in several parts of the Prigorodniy region was introduced according to the resolution of the republican parliament in April 1992, after a sharp worsening of the inter-ethnic situation which led to clashes between the Ossetians and Ingushes. As many as 600 people were killed as a result of the clashes.

State of Emergency Extended in North Ossetia

LD2111140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 21 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 21 Nov—The North Ossetian Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision to extend the state of emergency in a number of regions of the republic for another two months—from 30 November 1993 to 31 January 1994. Akhsarbek Galazov, the head of the North Ossetian parliament, said this here today. Speaking at a meeting with candidates to the Federal Assembly from North Ossetia, he pointed out that the decision to extend the emergency is linked with the fact that the situation in the areas bordering on Ingushetia remains complex. There are continued shellings of residential areas and troop details, attacks by bandit groups on economic facilities, and murders of innocent civilians.

Date Set for North Ossetian Presidential Election

LD2011133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1235 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 20 TASS—The election of the first president of the Republic of North Ossetia is scheduled for January 16, 1994. This follows from a package of laws on the institution of the post of president and his election, that were adopted by the session of the North Ossetian parliament on November 19. The documents were circulated by the mass media today.

Commenting on the law on presidential elections, Chairman of the North Ossetian Parliament Akhsarbek Galazov told ITAR-TASS that "this resolution of the parliament, adopted by the absolute majority of votes, is the result of the processes taking place in the political life of Russia, the desire to ensure a further development in the republic of the reform of state power and the improvement of cooperation of supreme and local authorities, together with local government bodies."

North Ossetian Voters Meet Local Candidates

LD2111181793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1718 GMT 21 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 21 TASS—North Ossetian voters met here on Sunday [21 November] with republic's parliament chairman Akhsarbek Galazov and manager of the Intourist-Ossetia joint-stock company Vladimir Lagkuyev, who had been registered as candidates for a new Russian Parliament's upper house, the Federation Council, as well as with Aleksandr Dzasokhov, co-chairman of the International Association "for Dialogue and Constructive Cooperation in the Asian-Pacific Region", who is standing for a seat in the parliament's lower house, the State Duma.

The North Ossetian Parliament chief told the gathering that he viewed the federal arrangement of the Russian federation as a force designed to help preserve the single and indivisible Russia. He reported the results of the latest sociological survey, which indicated that about 60 per cent of those polled had confirmed their intention to cast their ballots at the December 12 parliamentary elections. The recent session of the republic's Parliament approved the basic principles and provisions of the draft

Russian Constitution and called upon North Ossetians to take an active part in the december 12 nationwide constitutional referendum.

Speaking about the republic's sovereignty, Galazov said North Ossetian statehood declared in the draft of a new Russian constitution entitles the republic to solve independently all its problems in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Shakhray's Role in Ossetian-Ingush Conflict Viewed

MK2011113093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 5

[Oleg Medvedev report under "Security Council Session Pending" rubric: "The Council Will Return to the Ossetian-Ingush Issue"]

[Text] The Russian Security Council's consideration of the situation in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, scheduled for 24 November, regardless of its outcome directly affects the interests of Sergey Shakhray not only as chairman of the State Committee on Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities Affairs [Goskomfederatsiya] but also as a candidate deputy for the State Duma. Especially given that a certain aggravation of Ossetian-Ingush relations is not ruled out because the republican constitutional conference that opens in Nazran today may insert into Ingushetia's draft constitution a provision whereby Prigorodnyy Rayon, an area in dispute with North Ossetia, belongs to the republic.

The Ossetian-Ingush conflict is a standing item on the Security Council's agenda. This time around, however, it takes on a somewhat different turn, which is related to the upcoming elections. The discussion of the issue now affects the election interests of Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, who over a certain period headed the provisional administration in the conflict zone and who currently oversees this problem as Goskomfederatsiya chairman. Shakhray's opponents have an opportunity to present the vice premier in a light favorable to them by criticizing his efforts to stabilize the situation in the conflict zone.

In early November, information leaked into the press that representatives of Russia's Choice had gone to the Caucasus to find compromising material on Shakhray. Nothing is known about the results of the trip (if it has taken place at all), but Shakhray reacted to these reports by calling for the document adopted by the Security Council on 16 September, giving a political assessment of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, to be published in full.

Commenting on the probability of this document's being published, Deputy Security Council Secretary Valeriy Manilov told KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent that "the gist of that appraisal has already been published." The document itself is quite large and the question about its promulgation may be decided only by the council.

Shakhray proposes to publish the document apparently because it can help avert potential charges against the vice premier. A source in the Security Council said confidentially that Shakhray "does have something to fear."

It is not ruled out that at the Security Council session the president himself will give a negative assessment of the situation in the conflict zone in order to embarrass the view premier, who has become too independent. In this connection it is essential to remember Yeltsin's recent phrase: "These Shakhrays will not come to pass as presidents."

As for Shakhray's performance as head of the interim administration, it is certainly not hard to find those unhappy with his actions. Yet it should be borne in mind that the situation itself is very involved and also that Shakhray arrived in the conflict zone after Georgiy Khizha, who had not pleased the Ingush, which could not but affect their relation to Shakhray as well.

According to Dmitriy Mnatsakanyan, professor at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Relations and a major expert on interethnic relations, Shakhray "as a sensible and intelligent politician has turned out to be the center's best representative in the emergency situation zone; he has tried to do something and has done everything possible but within the limits of the statewide policy which ignores the nationalities question."

Political Science Professor Dmitriy Olshanksiy, director of the Center for Strategic Studies and Forecasts, also believes that Shakhray has done all that could be done. "Politics is the art of the possible," he went on. "Possibilities are created by people, and Shakhray's efforts should have been supplemented by the movement of the conflicting sides toward each other."

Ingushetia Postpones Adoption of Draft Constitution

LD2011205793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] In Ingushetia the Constitutional Assembly has adopted the draft Constitution in principle. However, its adoption at the December 12 referendum is postponed. Interfax reports from Ingushetia that the president set the date for the Constitution referendum for approximately February-March.

This is explained by the fact that the main provisions of the Constitution, for example, on relationships with Russia, will be finilized following the results of the referendum on the Russian Constitution of December 12.

The draft Constitution of Ingushetia was twice discussed at the Constitutional assembly and each time was approved in principle. However, the presidential aide for political matters Murat Gelikov has told Interfax, the need to re-consider the bill emerged after the draft of the Russian Constitution was published.

Gelikov, the author of the Constitution of Ingushetia, believes that the text of the Russian Constitution was transformed infringing the rights of the republics. That was the reason why the president of Ingushetia decided to debate once again the draft Constitution with the help of deputies of the congress of people's of Ingushetia and taking into account the amendments and proposals of the republic's population.

Tatarstan Sends Aid to Ingushetia

LD2011181993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan in a telephone talk Friday [19 November] informed President Ruslan Aushev of Ingushetia that 16 carriages with relief aid for North Ossetian refugees have been sent to his republic. Interfax reports that Shaymiyev told Aushev that it was only the beginning of the aid of the Tatar people to the peoples of Ingushetia.

President of Tatarstan expressed solidarity with the attempts of the leadership of Ingushetia to return the refugees to their homes, as well as voiced regret that the Ossetian side puts obstacles to these attempts.

President Aushev told Shaymiyev about his intention to give him a stallion as a present. The news was reported Saturday to the delegates of the Constitutional Assembly and the audience burst into applause.

Shakhray Attends Stavropol Conference on Draft Constitution

LD2211135593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1126 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Russia's Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, the State Federation Committee's Chairman, has interrupted his leave at Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's request to conduct a conference in Stavropol (a regional center in North Caucasus) on Monday [22 November].

He is meeting with the leaders of Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Karachayevo-Cherkesia, Krasnodar, Stavropol, and Rostov regions. The participation of Kalmykia's representative in the conference has not been confirmed yet.

The purpose of the gathering is to clarify basic points of the draft constitution which is to be put to a referendum on December 12.

As a spokesman for Shakhray has reported to INTERFAX, his trip to southern Russia is part of planned consultations between the federal leadership and regional administrators and does not have any extraordinary motivation.

Shakhray himself told an INTERFAX interviewer that the he was called off from his leave a day or two before it expired so as to conduct this conference. He said that he had received a message with a presidential instruction and a request from the prime minister to urgently go to a conference in Stavropol on November 22.

Shakhray is expected to brief journalists in Stavropol Monday afternoon.

Meanwhile, he has declared as the leader of the Russian Unity and Concord Party that he has no absolute certainty that the democrats will secure an absolute majority in the future parliament. "But there is hope for that—he said in an interview with INTERFAX on Monday,—a sensible calculation shows that this is feasible."

He did not rule out desertion from democratic factions "over to another front" in the future parliament. "But we'll press for a reservation in the rule of procedures that the parties and associations of federal significance are entitled to call off the members elected on their lists in order to promote parliamentary culture and make parliament more predictable," Shakhray remarked.

He refuted the Communist Party leader Zyuganov's statement that the Unity and Concord Party had sought contacts with the communists. "As a would-be Duma chairman, I would be obliged to conduct dialog with all political forces in parliament - leftists, rightists, and centrists, Shakhray noted. Dialog rather than cooperation is possible and inevitable with Mr. Zyuganov and the Communist Party since it will be represented in parliament."

In his words, during its election campaign his party has had no contacts, consultations, nor agreements with the communists.

Commission Head Discusses Moscow Election Preparation

PM1911120993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Anatoliy Petrov, chairman of the Moscow City Duma electoral commission, by Aleksandr Batygin; place and date not given: "Duma Returns to Moscow after 120 Years"]

[Excerpt] At the request of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's political observer, the preparation for the election of deputies to the Moscow City Duma is described by Anatoliy Petrov, chairman of the duma electoral commission.

[Petrov] The Duma is elected for two years and will have 35 deputies—to represent the number of districts. The main feature of the present elections is that the bulk of deputies are being nominated by electoral associations to which political parties and movements or their blocs belong. In all there are nine of these large associations in Moscow.

[Batygin] Who is setting the tone?

[Petrov] "Russia's Choice." It has representatives in all 35 electoral districts. The "Moscow Civic Union," "Citizens for the Power of the People, the Islamic Democratic Party"—it has representatives in 24 districts. The People's Patriotic Party has representatives in 21 districts.

[Batygin] Apart from parties, who has the right to nominate candidates?

[Petrov] Citizens' assemblies at their place of residence. Although in recent years we have grown accustomed to nominating candidates to the soviets from labor collectives, now that is not permitted.

[Batygin] How many people have expressed a desire to struggle for the right to become a Duma deputy?

[Petrov] There are 297 people people on the collected lists of the association [singular as published] and assemblies. Of course, some will inevitably fall by the way. Some will not get through registration—we are strictly keeping track of errors in the campaign to collect signatures. To register a candidate nominated by an assembly, at least 4,000 signatures of voters in the district must have been collected in his support. An electoral association nominating candidates for all or the majority of districts submits to our commission lists of signatures, which contain at least 30,000 voters residing in the capital.

[Batygin] Have you already discovered inaccuracies in the lists?

[Petrov] Yes, you come across the names of people who were long ago removed from the Moscow registration list. We are helped by specialists and passport office workers. In addition, for a number of reasons the district commissions do not recognize some assemblies as being within their legal rights.

[Batygin] In your view how many candidates will remain as a result of the "purge" in each district?

[Petrov] Five or six, I think. That means that in reality there will be about 175 people on the ballot slips.

[Batygin] What guarantees are there that the most fitting people will be on the final lists?

[Petrov] That is why the Duma is being elected for two years. The main thing is to gain experience, to determine how firm the links are between a particular deputy and his voters. Although, of course, it is difficult to talk about—there are 200,000 inhabitants for each deputy.

[Batygin] Anatoliy Valentinovich! Let us go further: On Tuesday your commission completed the checking of the signature lists. What next?

[Petrov] Having registered the candidates we will set about preparing the ballot slips. Incidentally, for the first time a preliminary vote is envisaged: If someone goes on a business trip, on vacation, or is away for some other valid reason. We enable such citizens to vote two weeks in advance. But there will be no tear-off coupons [otkrepitelnyye talony].

[Batygin] Are there any other innovations in the present election campaign which the Muscovites have not yet encountered?

[Petrov] It is also the first time that money funds are being created for electoral associations and districts to finance the campaign. They can include funds earmarked by district commissions (there are very few of these, it is true) and by voters' associations and also voluntary donations and the candidate's use of his own money. We in turn must establish who has opened accounts, who has made use of funds, and give information to the press. Understandably, election publicity and propaganda require substantial expenditures—much will go to producing posters and publishing lists! So that if you want success, pay up, if you want you can distribute your own photographs showing you with your family, on a fishing trip... The only thing you cannot do is distribute compromising material directed against your rivals.

[Batygin] Have you already analyzed what the future Duma's social composition will be?

[Petrov] Not yet, the overall picture has not yet taken shape. But it is already clear that there will be few women and very few young people. [passage omitted]

Poll Shows Fewer Muscovites Plan To Vote

MK2011115093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report under the "Social Barometer" rubric: "Think for Yourselves, Decide on Your Own"]

[Text] The Moscow branch of the All-Russian Public Opinion Studies Center (KOMKON-2) conducted a snap poll among 1,400 residents of Moscow on 16 November.

The breakdown of answers to one of the survey's questions—"Elections for the Federal Assembly are to be held this December. Do you plan to take part in these elections?"—is given in percentage points together with responses to the same question asked during similar polls on 12 and 26 October, and 2 and 9 November.

	12 Oct	26 Oct	2 Nov	9 Nov	16 Nov
I am sure I will not vote	12	15	21	19	23
I doubt that I will vote	11	15	8	7	9
Maybe I will vote, maybe not, I do not know	11	15	15	12	15
To all appearances, I will vote	17	12	13	17	17
I am absolutely sure that I will vote (provided, of course, that nothing extraordinary happens)	45	37	39	40	31
I do not know	4	6	4	5	5

The dwindling number of those who have decided to turn out for the vote may be attributed to, among other things, the fact that a number of blocs (parties) have not managed to collect the requisite number of signatures, and their supporters must have opted against taking part in the elections at this time.

Chiefs of various ranks, scientific, education, medicine, and military specialists, militia officers, and generally respondents aged 40 and over with a higher education and a monthly per capita income of between 50,000 and 90,000 rubles were among those who more often than others expressed their readiness to vote.

Soskovets Speaks on Missile Forces in Moscow Region

LD1911200093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Strategic missile forces are a guarantee of Russia's authority in the world community, First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets said on Friday [19 November]. He was speaking at a special ceremony in the Moscow region timed for the 34th anniversary of the missile forces.

The first vice-premier said that Russia's strategic nuclear forces were at a turning point. Their optimal structure was being looked for. Soskovets said that the missions of missile forces would be changed accordingly. He drew attention to the fact that Russia's new military doctrine described nuclear arms in the first place as a deterrent against aggression.

Soskovets pointed to the need for a reliable mechanism to make use of the current legal basis in the field of defence construction, in particular, in terms of establishing a social safety net for servicemen, retirees, and members of their families.

"The Russian government will be doing everything in its powers to facilitate the no easy work done by Russia's defenders", Soskovets said.

Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin said at the ceremony that particular resourcefulness of the mind was required these days to ensure the country's defences.

Candidates, Elections in Khabarovsk Kray Detailed

PM2211120393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Valeriy Golovin: "Four People Per Seat"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—This is the ratio that awaits the voters of the Amur River region 12 December. Sixteen people intend to fight for deputies' seats in Khabarovsk Kray. The district electoral commission for the Federation Council and State Duma elections has already registered the first candidates. They are Kray Administration Chief Viktor Ishayev; Technology University Rector Viktor Bulgakov; serviceman Nikolay Bykov; Valeriy Podmasko, deputy chairman of the Kray Property Fund, and Yuriy Strugov, director of the "Khabarovsk-Industrial Plan" institute.

Of course, they and the other candidates face a tense election battle in the days that remain before 12 December. But local observers are already rating rather highly the chances of V. Ishayev and V. Bulgakov, who are running for the Federation Council. They are backed by an influential local lobby in the shape of the Kray Council of Industrial Enterprise Directors. Moreover, Ishayev could secure the votes of some veterans who are pleased with the administration's efforts to implement a program of social assistance for the badly off. Although, of course, this is sheer speculation at the moment.

But the toughest fight will be for the sole seat in the State Duma for Khabarovsk Electoral District No. 58, which is being contested by eight candidates. Practically all the people on the list are well known in the Amur River region, so it is difficult to make any forecasts.

The same could be said of the Khabarovsk candidates entered on the federal lists representing various parties and movements. Incidentally, former Russian People's Deputy Valentin Tsoy, who is better known in Khabarovsk Kray for being a loathsome character, all but opted for this means of entry into the State Duma. This "servant of the people" is accused of evading taxes and of dubious commercial activities. However, to the utter amazement of the Amur River region people, Tsoy's name appeared on the Russian Agrarian Party's list, at the top of it, what is more, at number four. But no trace of V. Tsoy's nomination was found either in Moscow or in Khabarovsk. The leaders of the party are also dumbfounded—how did this businessman who only recently was staunchly defending the abolished Supreme Soviet in the "White House" turn up on the federal list? To avoid any potential embarrassment, Tsoy's name was quietly removed from the list before registration.

Now this inspires confidence that on this occasion more people who are really committed to transformations in Russia will have hold of the helm of state power.

International Affairs

Envoy at UN Explains Kiev's Policy on START I

LD1911224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2050 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations, 19 Nov—Although Ukraine has ratified the START-1 treaty, the nuclear disarmament process might be stopped if the republic does not receive the required international assistance and compensation for the nuclear potential being destroyed. This statement was made at a news conference given today at the headquarters of the community of nations by Viktor Batyuk, Ukraine's permanent representative at the United Nations.

"An historic event took place yesterday, when the Ukrainian parliament ratified the START-1 treaty. This step was planned long ago, back in May 1992, when Ukraine signed the Lisbon Protocol, in which it made the commitment to join the START treaty. Everybody has been waiting for this ratification, in order for the START-2 treaty to come into force," V. Batyuk observed.

"Why did it take so much time for Ukraine to ratify the START-1 treaty? There were a lot of reasons for this. One was that the negotiations on this treaty were held without Ukrainian participation, so the Ukrainian parliament had to study all aspects of the impact of the treaty on Ukraine. We also did not want ratification of START-1 to harm our national security. This is why we appealed to the major nuclear powers to commit themselves never to be the first to use nuclear and conventional weapons against Ukraine, to recognize its territorial integrity and never to apply economic measures to pressurize Ukraine," the Ukrainian representative said.

"In addition," he continued, "there was a large question mark over the economic impact and the need for international assistance to dismantle and destroy the nuclear weapons, for several countries promised a certain amount of aid. For example, the United States promised $175 million, although our experts calculated that Ukraine needed $2.5 billion for this purpose. Of course, there were not enough of these promises for us. We wanted more guarantees of international assistance.

"Undoubtedly, the problem also arose of compensation for the fissile material. Last year Ukraine sent thousands of tactical nuclear warheads to Russia to be destroyed. To this day Russia is refusing to pay us compensation, although this material is worth billions of dollars. Since we are suffering an energy shortage, this material could of course be used in our nuclear power stations or to develop the Ukrainian economy. That is why this problem was widely discussed."

"Unfortunately, a positive solution has not been found for any of these problems. This is why the Ukrainian parliament decided to ratify START-1 but also asked the president and government to continue negotiations on these issues. Only when they are solved will the instruments of ratification be amended.

"The Ukraine has also ratified the Lisbon Protocol except for paragraph 5, which binds signatories to accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The Ukrainian parliament has announced that it will continue to work to turn the Ukraine into a non-nuclear state. Thus ratification of the treaty, under which we promised to destroy 36 percent of carrier rockets and 42 percent of nuclear warheads, is but the first step toward opening the way for full destruction of nuclear weapons and accession to the Nonproliferation Treaty," the Ukrainian diplomat said.

Asked by reporters when the Ukraine will begin destroying its nuclear weapons, V. Batyuk replied, "Destruction has in fact already begun. The press has already reported that 10 missiles have been dismantled and that there were about 80 warheads on these missiles. However, when the first three warheads were loaded onto a train for dismantling in Russia, we asked for guaranteed compensation for the fissile material. But they did not want to give any guarantees and the warheads are still in freight wagons. Russia says that our warheads are in poor condition. This is not true. They are exactly the same as the warheads Russia has on its own missiles.

So the process is underway ... I think that it will take about seven years for the START treaty to be honored. The process has begun and timetables for destruction will be drawn up. At the same time, the Ukraine will be trying to obtain guarantees of economic aid, safety, and compensation for fissile materials. If they are not obtained, then the process could be halted or lengthened," V. Batyuk stressed.

Official: Nukes Stop Russia From Playing 'Georgian Card'

LD1911172093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1549 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] A senior Ukrainian official said Russia would like to take the nuclear weapons out of Ukraine as soon as possible, because they prevented Moscow from playing the 'Georgian card' in the republic.

Yuriy Kostenko, head of the team preparing the START-I treaty for ratification by the Ukrainian parliament, told Interfax-Ukraine that he expected "a big hullabaloo in the Russian press within the next few days, with Kiev being accused of wrecking the process of nuclear disarmament."

On the other hand, "goodwill on the part of Russian and American politicians would help accelerate the disarmament process which Ukraine has started in practice."

Kostenko said. He said tactical nuclear weapons had already been removed from Ukraine and strategic ones were being withdrawn gradually as the guarantee periods of their warheads expired.

Kostenko said that all the necessary conditions, as worked out by experts from nuclear countries according to Ukraine's requirements, had been incorporated in a draft Supreme Soviet resolution that would ratify the treaty. He also thought a standing parliamentary commission was needed to deal with nuclear disarmament.

In Kostenko's view, the reason why Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk proposed that the legislature, in its ratification resolution, set no limits for the reduction of strategic missiles was that he had signed "relevant documents" earlier.

"One shouldn't see the failure of the Supreme Soviet to ratify the document signed by the president as a tragedy," Kostenko said, referring to the Lisbon protocol on START-I. The parliament ratified the protocol, but refused to approve its Article No. 5, which would require Ukraine to join the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear state.

Kiev, Moscow Border Chiefs Discuss Issues

LD2111183693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] A working meeting between Colonel General Valeriy Hubenko, head of the State Committee for Issues of Border Protection and commander of Ukraine's border troops, and Andrey Nikolayev, the Russian Federation's deputy security minister and commander of Russia's border troops, was held in Kiev over the last two days. They agreed to form a joint group to prepare a draft treaty between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on cooperation and interaction on border issues.

At the meeting they also discussed the organization of crossing points at the joint border, joint control over the water areas of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait, and the possibilities of visa free border crossings by citizens of our two countries.

More Troops To Go for UN Duties in Ex-Yugoslavia

LD1911204593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1935 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Ukraine on Friday voted to increase the number of the republic's troops involved in the UN peace keeping effort in former Yugoslavia.

The battalion will be increased from its present 400 servicemen to 800 to be included in motorized and back-up sub-divisions, peace- keeping officers groups and military observers.

Ukraine's defense ministry spent a total of $2.8 Mn on maintaining its servicemen in Yugoslavia from July 1992 to July 1993. However, the UN Secretariat has provided the defense ministry treasury with $419,000 for transport expenditures and another $1.9 Mn for maintenance for the period July-November 1992. The UN owes Ukraine almost $4 Mn for the period December 1992 to September 1993.

As many as 6 Ukrainian servicemen have died and 30 have received wounds during the Ukrainian battalion's presence in the conflict areas.

Plyushch Heads Delegation to Czech Republic

LD2211114993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] A Ukrainian delegation led by Ukrainian parliamentary chairman Ivan Plyushch left for Prague on 22 November at the invitation of the Czech Republic's parliament. In the delegation are Mykola Biloblotskyy, chairman of the Supreme Council's commission on social policy and labor, Roman Shpek, minister of the economy, Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, minister of finances, Vitaliy Yushchenko, head of the National Bank's board, and other officials.

During the brief visit there will be meetings with Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, and parliament chairman Milan Uhde.

The delegation will acquaint itself with the work of parliament, including the bodies of the state executive power, and with the progress of economic reforms. Issues relating to the development of relations between Ukraine and the Czech Republic will be discussed.

Newspaper Claims West Suspends Credits

LD2011112293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] According to the NEZAVISIMOST newspaper in Kiev, Austria, Italy, France, Germany, and the United States have closed their credit lines to Ukraine. The European Parliament has also suspended the program of technical aid to the republic. Projects abroad will either not be considered or will be blocked until the economic situation is clarified. According to foreign experts which the Kiev newspaper is quoting, the Ukrainian economy will only survive for another two months.

National Affairs

News Conference Held on START I Ratification

LD1911215893 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1710 GMT 19 Nov 93

[News conference by Supreme Soviet Deputy Speaker Vasyl Durdynets, Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy, and Supreme Council standing commission heads Dmytro Pavlychko (foreign affairs) and Valentyn Lemishwith (defense and state security) with unidentified correspondents in Kiev on 19 November—recorded]

[Text] [Durdynets] Our news conference is dedicated to an important event. Yesterday, as you know already, Ukraine's Supreme Council examined the issue of ratification of the Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and Limitation Treaty together with the respective Lisbon protocol, and ratified these important documents; 254 people's deputies voted for this resolution. To begin with, permit me to brief you on the essence of the issue, which will be followed by a question-and answer session.

As you know, the decision taken by the Supreme Council was preceded by almost a year-long comprehensive examination and a thorough joint analysis of the possible politico-military, economic, environmental and social consequences in the event of our state's compliance with this treaty which had been signed without Ukraine's participation. In their approach to the issue, Ukraine's Supreme Council, its standing commissions and the deputies' ad-hoc working group set up by the Supreme Council Presidium with the special task of working on relevant recommendations, proceeded both from Ukraine's noble intention to become a non-nuclear state in future and from the idea of inviolability of our state borders, as well as from other national interests.

In the course of an in-depth, comprehensive study of the problem and thorough discussions which, frankly speaking, were not simple, sometimes even excessively emotional, deputies focused their attention on such serious factors as the role of nuclear arms as a deterrent, our state's economic capabilities in terms of full compliance with the commitments implied by the treaty, and the possibility of guaranteeing environmental and nuclear security during the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons.

I would like to place special emphasis on the fact that the concept of the adopted decision implies no change in the attitude of the Supreme Council and the state leadership of Ukraine to our state's future non-nuclear status. In our work, we hoped and sought to convince the international community, first of all, the nuclear and other influential world powers, of the need to meet Ukraine halfway by providing reliable security guarantees and adequate financial assistance for the elimination of these weapons, and compensation for nuclear warheads, including tactical ones. Unfortunately, today we can state the fact that our hopes were futile. We have so far received no security guarantees in the full sense of the term, while the promises of assistance cannot be considered adequate in comparison with our needs, and the issue of compensation for tactical nuclear weapons remains unresolved.

Therefore, the Supreme Council, taking a decision to ratify the treaty, took account of all these aspects and proceeded from the real situation at hand. In practical terms, this means that Ukraine did ratify the treaty, with certain specific reservations that are reflected in the resolution adopted by the parliament.

Their essence is in the following: Ukraine is making the first step on the way toward a stage-by-stage elimination of the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory and proceeds from the fact that in compliance with the limits set by the treaty for the former USSR and the principles of equality of all the states-legal successors to the former Soviet Union it is obliged to reduce and subsequently eliminate 36 percent of the delivery vehicles and 42 percent of nuclear warheads of the strategic offensive weapons stationed on the territory of Ukraine. However, at the same time, this does not exclude a possibility of eliminating additional delivery vehicles and warheads according to procedures that can be determined by Ukraine itself, which is reflected in the resolution. And this is an important aspect of the matter.

The resolution by the Supreme Council of Ukraine confirms the universally recognized status of Ukraine as the owner of the nuclear weapons it inherited from the former USSR by virtue of historical circumstances. Reaffirming its status as the owner of nuclear weapons, Ukraine is trying not to create prerequisites for taking operational control over these weapons. We emphasize, on a legal basis, our demands that compensation should be granted for the components of the strategic and tactical weapons which can be disassembled beyond Ukraine's borders.

The Supreme Council reaffirmed the need to provide Ukraine with reliable guarantees of its national security and necessary financial aid for carrying out elimination undertakings and a proper compensation for the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons which are disassembled beyond its borders. President of Ukraine Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk was recommended to hold negotiations with relevant states and international organizations on a whole range of issues that are of a key importance for the fulfilment of the treaty by Ukraine.

In its resolution the Supreme Council of Ukraine determined that Ukraine did not consider Article 5 of the Lisbon Protocol to be compulsory for itself. Therefore, at the current stage Ukraine is not joining the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty. In the course of a debate on this issue the people's deputies emphasized the fact that the treaty was laid down over 20 years ago and did not envisage the unique situation that emerged after the disintegration of one of the nuclear states—the former Soviet Union—and the formation of equal states-legal successors on its basis. The resolution stresses that the validation of the treaty and its implementation open up a way toward the Supreme Council of Ukraine solving the issue on acceding to the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty of 1 July 1968. This is a very important factor. I also draw your attention to this. Assessing the situation in a comprehensive and balanced manner as a whole, the resolution indicates that Ukraine will exchange the instruments of ratification only after the above reservations are fulfilled.

All the importance and seriousness of the move made by Ukraine should be emphasized. This is a striking evidence of its intention to work consistently on implementing its peaceloving course and to follow the road toward achieving a non-nuclear status in the future. This is a concrete consideration of our own national interests and tendencies of the world development. We hope that this will be duly appreciated by the world public.

And now my colleagues and I are ready to answer your questions.

[Correspondent] What were the objections put forward by deputies yesterday, and what negative consequences will face Ukraine in external relations, the economy and national security?

[Durdynets] Objections—those were not really objections, but as I said, we were talking about finding ways to guarantee the fulfilment of this treaty organizationally, financially, economically, and technically. Therefore, we were talking about the fact that the working group which cooperated with the standing commissions, together with the state executive structures and experts, was searching for options and decisions that would enable us to guarantee the number of nuclear weapons to be eliminated which, first of all, is implied in the treaty and the Lisbon protocol, and second, must be ensured economically and financially. The first thing they said: Prove it to us please that we have a comprehensive program that will be economically, financially and technically secured.

[Unidentified Speaker] We will do our best to see that this hypothetical—as it is today and was yesterday—elimination program, being a complicated and comprehensive technical program, will become less and less expensive as far as is possible in the course of the work. We will do this in terms of know-how, and, for example, it is questionable whether it is necessary to create facilities for the elimination of 176 ICBMs, considering that they will stay idle thereafter, or whether such work can be done in Russia. Undoubtedly, if we see that such facilities or such specialized know-how are available for us to lease or employ on specified terms, we will go ahead with this to decrease the load on the budget.

[Unidentified Speaker] If you look carefully at the Supreme Council resolution, you will see a number of questions that could be considered an answer to a range of issues which we had been unable to resolve before the treaty was submitted to the Supreme Council for ratification. The cause of it, as we can see, is, first, a certain lack of constructive attitude on the part of our negotiating partners, which, naturally, contributed to the absence of solutions to the important problem of national security guarantees, on the one hand, and, on the other, the problem of financial and technical aid. As for the question about external consequences or any other problems, I believe, the Supreme Council made a significant step. By ratifying the treaty and adopting the resolution, it confirmed the intentions put forward in the respective Supreme Council documents on Ukraine's intention to acquire a non-nuclear status.

[Correspondent] THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent has asked how soon Ukraine will complete the elimination of strategic offensive nuclear arms in accordance with the treaty.

[Unidentified speaker, in Russian] The period is determined by the treaty itself and the protocol, and, as you know, amounts to seven years. We adhere to the basic interpretation of the treaty, but, of course, will not follow it dogmatically. I think, some processes can go faster, which will illustrate our goodwill and initiative in this respect.

[Correspondent] Tell me, please: Ukraine does not consider Article 5 of the Lisbon Protocol to be compulsory for itself. It talks about a non-nuclear status. Is it possible to say now, after yesterday's decision, that Ukraine is a nuclear state? And the second question is to Valeriy Shmarov. [words indistinct] about item 7 where it talks about sufficient international financial and technical aid. Only be honest: How many billions? One, four, five, ten? How many? At least approximately. Thanks.

[Unidentified Speaker] As far as the nonproliferation treaty is concerned. Of course, at the current stage Article 5 excludes Ukraine's accession to this treaty. However, the resolution has a very debatable provision envisaging that after the treaty is validated and its provisions are implemented Ukraine will consider the possibility of acceding to the above treaty. I think it is unnecessary to state, and the Supreme Council resolution does not say that Ukraine is a nuclear state, and it does not say that Ukraine has an intention to take control over nuclear weapons. The resolution says clearly and distinctly that Ukraine is the owner of the nuclear weapons inherited from the former USSR and it is necessary to proceed from this very fact. You must understand it yourselves, dear colleagues, that the status of a nuclear state and the status of a state-owner of nuclear weapons are entirely different things. By the way, a situation emerged here that we are the owners of the nuclear weapons with limited possibilities of operational control over these weapons and with limited possibilities of using these weapons. This very fact qualifies the status of the nuclear weapons stationed on the territory of Ukraine.

[Shmarov] The second part of the question. Mister Correspondent from Moscow: I did not quite understand your question. How much money is necessary or how much they will give?

[Correspondent] How much is necessary?

[Shmarov] How much is necessary? Here is my reply. Calculations, although they should not be interpreted in a dogmatic manner, have been made which say today that the fulfillment, the exact fulfilment of the terms of the treaty will require about $1.6-$1.7 billion. For a larger scope of work, say for a zero option, $3.8 billion will be required, well, considering that this is during the term of the implementation of the treaty. World prices and all the cost of work and necessary equipment at world prices were used for these calculations. However, I already said today that we are doing everything possible, taking into account that some aid will certainly be rendered, but there will be more load on the budget of our state to make this program less expensive.

[Correspondent] Can it happen that this resolution will just turn into an illusion in which Ukraine will have no money of its own for the creation of this infrastructure; they will give us nothing for the elimination; we will be compelled, to avoid a Chernobyl-type missile disaster, to take these missiles out to Russia; and will gradually take all of them out of Ukraine because we will simply have no money for their normal servicing?

[Unidentified speaker] First, in compliance with the treaty not missiles but complexes, launchers, and silo launchers are subject to elimination. Now we are talking about the land-based missiles. This is why our obligations under the treaty will be controlled by this treaty's depositories in relation to whether we eliminated silo launchers or not, partially, because this is required by technical supplements to the treaty. This very work requires expenditures because, as far as the removal and utilization of missiles is concerned, this can even be a profitable part.. [pauses] well, not a profitable part but part of work that will partially diminish the financial load. This is why I would say that we believe that the work will be financed somehow on a mixed basis, on a mixed basis. We envisage in the budget, and the Supreme Council gave us such an resolution, that volume which we will require for the preparation of the programme in 1994...[pauses] and we will undoubtedly be doing everything possible so that the world community supports us economically with either aid or investments. Certain kinds of work according to the program can even be profitable programs and can yield profit. This is why we count on this as well, on the maximum possible reduction of the project costs.

[Question indistinct]

[Durdynets] I believe that both Russia and the United States are interested, as we are, in the soonest possible implementation of this resolution. After the reservations, fixed in this document, are fulfilled, there will be an exchange of the instruments of ratification. In other words, I would like to look with optimism and hope that there will be a positive response. This, of course, is our wish.

[Correspondent] Does the warheads elimination program, well, the program of nuclear weapons elimination in general envisage this very situation, that is the elimination on the territory of Ukraine and tripartite negotiations?

[Unidentified Speaker] At present the nuclear weapons stationed on our territory, nuclear warheads, nuclear ammunition, are manufactured in Russia at the Russian nuclear industry plants. The sequence of actions is as follows: This ammunition, these products can be dismantled, disassembled, and utilized by those only who manufactured them. If we begin to approach this issue voluntarily, I think this may have a rather sad end. This is why today we have no realistic technical program whatsoever, as far as some kind of amateur utilization is concerned. We do not have this production cycle and we look at these things straightforwardly, that it will be utilized where it was manufactured. Undoubtedly, under condition of a compensation, which is stipulated in our resolution and reservations and the other agreement, under condition of a compensation for the cost of that combat uranium which is contained in these warheads. [sentence as heard]

[Durdynets] Such ideas really do exist, however, and they were expressed by various specialists. So far they have not been implemented in real, practical terms.

[Correspondent] What will happen if Ukraine does not obtain the clear-cut political and economic guarantees or aid that it seeks from the West? Does this mean that everything you decided yesterday will be an illusion or Ukraine is ready to move forward [words indistinct] without the aid and without the guarantees?

[Unidentified speaker] There are different forms of granting guarantees. There are guarantees granted through the system of the United Nations Organization. In particular, relevant resolutions that envisage granting guarantees are already available. This seems to be Resolution 205. There are other forms as well, and I think we must show certain flexibility while searching for a solution to this problem. We are ready, for example, to begin considering this issue and conclude relevant agreements at various levels: tripartite, quinquepartite levels. For example, we could begin with the trilateral agreement and open it for other countries' accession. It could be possible to hold negotiations with all the nuclear states at one time, for example, trying to convince them of the necessity of granting such guarantees to Ukraine. I must say that we have already been doing, are doing, and will probably continue doing this work, proceeding from the Supreme Council resolution, with all the nuclear states so as to find a common language and solve this problem in the best possible way for our state.

[Correspondent] Could it happen that this program in the budget will become yet another pretext for collecting all the hard currency, all the money available now with the subjects of economic activity, as it is being done now to support agriculture and other needs of the state? Will this not become a pretext for curtailing all reforms in Ukraine? Thanks.

[Unidentified Speaker] I think that these growing expenditures for the elimination [of nuclear weapons] will be somehow correlated by the fact that the Supreme Council made a decision on the armed forces reduction. This is why I think that the armed forces will be reduced to a certain extent on an annual basis. Expenditures for maintaining the army will decrease. I think this will to a certain extent facilitate the load on the budget and will give us an opportunity to maneuver, as far as finances are concerned, and implement this program. On the other hand, of course, it will not be easy to implement it, because a situation will emerge, as far as the difficulty of implementing the program is concerned, and its implementation will be protracted. Yet, I support Mr. Anatoliy Zlenko concerning the fact that the world community will support us and will do everything possible so that the program be implemented in time.

[Durdynets] During all the time of preparations for the ratification attention had been focused on those realities that Ukraine found itself facing today: economic realities, first and foremost. This is not a bargaining; we do not demand. We just say that today Ukraine has no possibility to allocate that necessary large sum of money from its poor budget to ensure in real terms the elimination of a large quantity of nuclear weapons. Therefore, I ask you to bear this aspect in mind, and it is around this aspect that we are to conduct our talk.

Parliament Official Praises START I Ratification

LD1911184093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 19 November, Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Affairs, commenting at the request of a UNIAN correspondent on the signing of the START I Treaty, pointed out: "We are waiting for a response from the world community. People who read this document in depth will understand that it is deeply reasonable, balanced, and wise because it does not contradict the statements on this issue approved earlier by the Supreme Council. We did not refrain from the opinion that in the future, Ukraine would have no nuclear status but we said clearly and distinctly that this could happen only after we went through a certain stage of nuclear arms reduction. The stage-by-stage nature [of nuclear arms reduction] is the main idea maintained by the document. The most important aspect of the matter is this: We are the owners of nuclear arms that we have to turn into a financial and political force that will guarantee our borders, into ecological security. We are on the road toward non-nuclear status and we ourselves will determine its length. [no closing quotation marks as received]

President Kravchuk Wants Nuclear-Free State

LD2011212393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2049 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev November 20 TASS—"I remain adherent to the political and strategic course outlined in the resolutions of the Ukrainian parliament and the statements of the Ukrainian president that Ukraine should become a nuclear-free state," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said on Saturday.

He said the president and the government were guided exclusively by these goals in their activities prior to the ratification of the START-I Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

The statement followed numerous requests from CIS and foreign mass media to express his attitude towards the ratification of the treaty.

Kravchuk said he had passed over to the parliament a whole package of documents concerning the ratification of the START-I Treaty and the joining of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The documents contained a thorough analysis of military, political, economic, technical, ecological and social consequences of Ukraine's course towards nuclear disarmament, including its international aspects, the Ukrainian leader said.

The president's position on the ratification of the START-I Treaty and, in particular, on the joining of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty has won broad support in Ukraine and in other countries. However, the Supreme Soviet considered it expedient to ratify the START-I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol with certain amendments. There are several reasons which may explain its decision, but the main one is that the world community has failed to take into account the complexity and specificity of the situation in Ukraine and was not active and willing enough to interact with Ukraine during the preparations for the ratification of the START-I Treaty.

Kravchuk confirmed that his position remains unchanged and stressed that despite contradictory assessments made in connection with the parliamentary resolution on the ratification, the document has important constructive aspects which will help further develop the process of nuclear disarmament.

He pointed out that gradual elimination of warheads and missiles does not rule out a broader approach towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and that the ratification of the START-I Treaty opens up new possibilities for joining the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. Another positive aspect is that the Ukrainian parliament has called on all nuclear powers to follow Ukraine's suit and begin reducing their nuclear arsenals.

Kravchuk also said that the president and the government of Ukraine will continue to work on the issue of nuclear disarmament to make Ukraine a nuclear-free state.

He expressed the hope that the world community, primarily the United States, Russia, France and Britain, will constructively cooperate and interact with Ukraine on this extremely important and complex issue.

Defense Ministry Details Conventional Arms Reduction

LD1911174393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service 19 Nov]

[Text] The Ukrainian Defense Ministry press service reports that on 18 November Ukraine embarked on the second year of arms and equipment reduction conducted in accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Arms in Europe. Since the document took effect, more than 160 fighting planes, 630 armored fighting vehicles, and over 600 tanks have been or are being scrapped. Of these, 150 pieces of equipment have been redesigned for nonmilitary use, specifically as fire appliances, all-purpose haulage units, and lifting cranes. Over 400 more tanks, almost 900 armored fighting vehicles, and about 400 fighting planes are subject to elimination.

Report on 19 Nov Parliament Decisions

LD2011113293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Nov—The Supreme Council of Ukraine has approved a package of laws, resolutions, corrections to these, and decrees. In particular, in accordance with a report by the chairman of the commission for issues of defense and state security of Ukraine, a resolution was approved on increasing the strength of the battallion of armed forces of Ukraine in the peacekeeping forces on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The strength of the batallion is being increased from 400 to 1,220 persons. Motor rifle sub-units, supply sub-units, staff officers, and groups of military observers are to be part of the Ukrainian battallion of peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. Information is added to the resolution, which says that the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine has spent $2.8 million on maintaining the battallion for the period from July 1992 to July 1993. The indebtedness of the UN to Ukraine for the period from December 1992 to September 1993 comes to almost four million dollars. In the event of an increase in the strength of the Ukrainian contingent of UN peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia, expenditure on maintaining them will come to $8.5 million per year under conditions of UN compensation to the value of $14.2 million.

Amendments and additions to the law on the procuracy were approved in the first reading. The deputies refused to examine the draft law on international treaties in its second reading. However, on the occasion of the Day of Employees of the Agro-Industrial Complex, as [parliament speaker] Ivan Plyushch noted, as a gift on that festive day the deputies approved a resolution on ensuring settlements for agricultural produce, raw materials, and food products delivered to state resources in 1993. In particular the resolution is about the National Bank of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers granting credits to the value of 9.5 trillion karbovantsi for neat cattle and swine, 2.2 trillion karbovantsi for completing settlements for grain and sunflower seeds, and 2.1 trillion karbovantsi for sugar beet. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the National Bank of Ukraine are to urgently establish a procedure for utilizing these credits in accordance with special-purpose designation and for their repayment.

Next week deputies are to examine the issue of social protection, currency regulation (possibly at a closed sitting) and providing the populace and the national economy with energy-carriers.

Rukh Leader Boycotts Parliament Over Election Decree

LD1911180793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] On Thursday leader of Ukraine's Popular Rukh Vyacheslav Chernovil declared that he refuses to further participate in plenary sessions of the republican parliament.

He explains that this move was due to the adoption of a new election decree by "a reactionary majority in the Supreme Soviet." Chernovil appealed to "other democratic deputies to boycott the sittings or implement the old idea of parallel sittings of Popular Rukh's national-democratic factions."

"Now, after the Supreme Soviet introduced amendments into the new election law, it does not differ from the old communist decree based on which the previous elections were held," Chernovil said in his interview with the agency Rukh-Press on Thursday. In his opinion, the "new-old Supreme Soviet will again be incapable of lasting too long" and will not be able to form a stable government nor to implement economic reforms.

Chernovil also fears that due to the catastrophic state of Ukraine's economy it will not be able even to survive until the elections. He qualified the activity of "the government of Kravchuk and Zvyagilsky (acting premier—Interfax) as "diversion."

Rukh's leader announced that the opposition would oppose Ukraine's admittance to the Council of Europe which "the former communist countries have joined after free parliamentary elections."

Parliamentary Opposition Criticizes Election Decree

LD1911190793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The national-democratic faction of the Ukrainian parliament, Popular Rada, sharply criticized the decree on elections adopted at the parliamentary session on Thursday. The faction's statement notes that the majority of the deputies declined amendments proposed by the opposition.

"The pro-communist majority of the Supreme Soviet has demonstrated a lack of compromise and stubbornness in adoption of an election decree beneficial to it but not to the Ukrainian people," says the document.

Popular Rada believes that new elections on the basis of the old electoral system conducted by members of the old communist nomenclature will facilitate the preserving of its power in Ukraine.

The statement also indicates that Popular Rada cannot take responsibility for the actions of the "communist party" majority and does not want to serve as a cover in preparing "the next offensive against the Ukrainian people."

"Ukrainians can eliminate the danger to Ukraine's people at the new elections only by pushing out the communist-socialist party of power," stressed Popular Rada.

Parliamentary elections in Ukraine are scheduled for March 27 of next year.

Parliament Vetoes Kravchuk Edict on Commodity Bonds

AU2111173593 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 13 Nov 93 p 1

[Oleh Basok report: "The Supreme Council Has Given To Understand That It Must Be Reckoned With"]

[Text] Yesterday, the plenary session of Ukraine's Supreme Council continued. The people's deputies discussed the draft plan for Ukraine's sociopolitical development, the budget for the next year, and measures against inflation that were proposed by the president. Chairmen and representatives of the Supreme Council's standing commissions expressed their opinions about the plan for actions proposed by the government.

The people's deputies focused their attention on two presidential edicts: "On Issuing State Commodity Bonds of Ukraine's National Resources," which was issued on 12 October 1993 and "On Privatizing Unfinished Construction Facilities." A whole number of assessments and proposals for the program of the government's activity and anti- inflation measures were made.

However, the president with his two recent edicts suffered a barrage of a particularly large number of questions and criticisms. The said edicts are an important link in extricating Ukraine from the economic crisis and in stabilizing the national monetary system. Incidentally, people's deputies spoke about the following interesting facts: Precisely one year ago, the Ukrainian coupon became a real monetary unit. Precisely on 14 November [1992], the coupons were introduced into noncash circulation. Let us recall that, at that time, one Russian ruble in noncash circulation was exchanged for one coupon.

As the discussion went on, it became increasingly clear that the aforementioned presidential edicts gave rise to a complex response among the people's deputies. Nevertheless, the presidential team managed to defend one of them on selling uncompleted construction facilities. As regards the commodity bonds of Ukraine's national resources, the edict was vetoed by the Supreme Council. It is planned to create a special deputies commission, which will study all circumstances that have led to its appearance and possible consequences of its implementation.

At the same time, people's deputies adopted a resolution that obliges the government to amend the draft plan for Ukraine's socioeconomic development, the budget for 1994, and the complex of anti-inflation measures, so that a final variant of these documents could be submitted for discussion at the Supreme Council at the beginning of December.

The session will continue its work on Tuesday, 16 November.

'White Brotherhood' Warns of Nuclear Plant Sabotage

LD2011181693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Chernobyl—A UNIAN correspondent learned from reliable sources on 19 November that in reply to the detention of Yuriy Kryvonohov and Maryna Tsvyhun by law enforcement bodies, unidentified persons, calling themselves members of the "White Brotherhood," are ringing up the law enforcement bodies and directorates of the Security Service of Ukraine threatening sabotage and terrorist acts at atomic and thermal power stations.

Instructions on taking additional measures to protect the stations have been sent to oblast staffs of the civil defense and to the services responsible for the protection and safe operation of these facilities.

Rukh To Abandon Party Political Approach in Elections

LD2011151793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—Vyacheslav Chornovil, head of the People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), stated at a news conference on 19 November that Rukh is intending to call on other political forces of Ukraine to renounce nominating candidates for the post of deputy from parties. According to the leader of Rukh, with the adoption of the election law by the Supreme Council, which has put political parties on the same level as labor collectives of any strength, their [the parties] nominating candidates loses all sense. Rukh will not be boycotting the elections and will continue to rally democratic forces in a single bloc. "If we do not manage to do this at a republican level, then we will attempt to do so in the regions at least," noted Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Crimean Presidential Race Continues

MK2011123093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 81, 20 Nov 93 (Signed to press 19 Nov) p 4

[Konstantin Parishkura report from Kiev under the "Power" rubric: "Will Crimea Have Its Own Head of State? Rukh Thinks Two Presidents Is Shame for Ukraine"]

[Text] A campaign has officially began in Crimea to elect the republic's president. Ukraine's biggest party, the People's Rukh, has in this connection made a statement where the very fact of elections is regarded as "a consequence of the country's Supreme Soviet capitulatory policy" which has lead to "a shameful phenomenon" where one state will have two presidents. Rukhovites have urged the deputies to bring Crimea's legislation into line with that of Ukraine and urged the peninsula's people to take no part in "unlawful elections."

On 17 November, Sergey Shuvaynikov received at Crimea's Central Electoral Commission an official certificate of registration as the first candidate of the Russian Party of Crimea for the republic's presidency. He stated in a press conference that he intends, if elected, to press actively for Crimea to join Russia, and threw a banquet after meeting with journalists at a cost of 5 million karbovanets.

Another three people now have the possibility of starting a signature-raising campaign to win the right to be nominated candidates: Ivan Yermakov, the Ukraine president's representative in Sevastopol; Natalya Vasilyeva, Sevastopol City Soviet deputy; and Yevgeniy Isayev, chairman of the unregistered "Greens" party of Crimea.

Under the local election law they are each supposed to collect 3,000 signatures. Each registered candidate (they should be nominated before 25 December) will each get 20,000 karbovanets from the budget, and the right to appear twice on Crimean television.

Crimea's communists will hold a conference to discuss their party's candidate. An extraordinary congress of the Republican Party of Crimea devoted to the presidential elections has been set for 27 November.

A kurultay [assembly] of the Crimean Tatar people will discuss the same subject at the end of the month. This will also be the time for a constitutional congress of the Ukrainian Civil Congress of Crimea following which the party will submit registration papers and will nominate its presidential candidate.

Congress representatives said in an unofficial discussion that should the Tatar kurultay decide to take no part in the presidential elections, the Ukrainian Civil Congress of Crimea would also boycott the elections.

For Crimea's president to be legitimate, it is necessary, according to local legislation, for at least 50 percent of the electorate to take part in the voting.

National-Socialist Party Changes Name

LD2011120293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Poltava, 19 Nov—The so-called All-Ukrainian National-Socialist Party [Vse-Ukrayinska Natsional-Sotsiyalistychna Partiya] is now in the past. Its members have decided to change the name of the party to the World National-Socialist Party of Slavs [Vsesvitnya Natsional-Sotsiyalistychna Partiya Slovyan]. Among the principles dictated by the party the main one is to unite all Slavs of the world in an indivisible state of Kievan Rus. The party program notes that the state system should be a dictatorial one.

Belarus

Supreme Soviet Adjourns After Week's Work

WS1911150193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Report by Mikhail Rutkowski]

[Text] Our people's deputies voted to close today's Supreme Soviet session at 1400 [1200 GMT]. Of course, they have the right to do such a thing. Undoubtedly, they had a week of hard work, and we had a chance to make ourselves sure of that while listening to live relays of this week's proceedings.

During their discussions, deputies addressed the speeches by Prime Minister Kebich and Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich outlining ways out of our social and economic crisis. The Supreme Soviet's special commission worked out the draft of an appropriate resolution in that regard. Despite the fact that this document provided for many measures regarding a way out of the social and economic crisis, the resolution was rejected. It must be noted, however, that the draft resolution included many general statements—limit, [word indistinct], abolish, provide, and, of course, work out, activate, and many others words. The new draft resolution was discussed, and again the document was rejected. Next, deputies voted for draft decrees proposed by the opposition, various deputy groups and factions, and individual deputies. All those proposals met the same fate as the draft Supreme Soviet resolution. There was also a broad discussion of the national currency. Many proposals were made, but this issue was also left unresolved. Thus, discussion on the draft Supreme Soviet resolution on ways out of the social and economic crisis and the acceleration of market reforms will be continued on Tuesday [23 November] of next week.

'Unique' Nuclear Ammunition Dump To Be Mothballed

LD1911105993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Nikolay Nazarovich]

[Text] Bobruysk, the Mogilev Region of Belarus, November 19, (TASS)—A decommissioned nuclear ammunition dump in Bobruysk, Belarus, a unique autonomous complex of under- and overground facilities, including military barracks, club, canteen, sauna, boiler-house and even a stadium, was handed over to city authorities, but nobody seems to need it at all.

The city community services and local commercial enterprises refused to lease it and the nuclear dump which can ensure self-supporting living conditions for a long time is to be mothballed now.

Contract With Arms Dismantling Firms Criticized

WS1811093093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 9 Nov 93 p 1,2

[Article by Ihar Shchuchenka: "Is Anybody Interested in Generals Doing Business?"]

[Text] The story I will tell you is not yet over. It drags on and has not been definitely resolved so far. However, a resolution has been adopted by the Belarusian Control Chamber Council, and the last word rests with the Defense Ministry, whose officials are the leading heroes and witnesses of a suspicious contract. It is possible that the contract, signed between the Defense Ministry and the foreign companies, Ropierbase [as published] Ltd., Britain, and Alliance Techsystems Inc., the United States, would not draw such attention. It is possible. Unfortunately, an inspection conducted by Mikolay Vyacherskiy, at the Control Chamber's request, has tossed the cards unfavorably for shareholders of the Belarusian- British-American joint venture company Belconvers designed for weapons dismantling. However, it must be admitted that weapons dismantling is currently one of Belarus' most important problems. According to Maxwell's data, there are about 500 tonnes of dangerous explosive materials on our territory, which must be destroyed. This problem could be solved independently, or in cooperation with foreign firms (as in this case), but under terms convenient not only for our partners but also for our Republic. Regarding the above-mentioned contract, the foreign companies proposed to the Defense Ministry a solution to the technical problems of arms dismantling, which did not envision processing and utilization that would be profitable for the Republic. In other words, the founders of the joint venture company did not have Belarus' interests in mind when signing the agreement...

In the first quarter of 1992, the Defense Ministry was examining the issue of independent weapons dismantling. A document was even adopted, outlining prospects for weapons dismantling at the 43rd Dobrush Arsenal. The document was signed by Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy and Chief of Staff N. Churkin. Unfortunately, they did not sign an appropriate resolution. A logical question arises in this regard—why was it not signed in such a strained situation? The explanation is simple: As Mikalay Vyacherski pointed out, concurrently, S. Shvyrkunov, the general director of the Conversion- Housing company responsible for weapons dismantling, arrived from Moscow with an offer to destroy our stockpiles in cooperation with foreign companies. Shvyrkunov, proposed two foreign companies as possible partners—Ropierbase Ltd. and Alliance Techsystems Inc., which possessed not only dismantling technologies, but also made promises to make millions-worth profits in hard currency... However, nobody bothered to verify these promises and capabilities.

The offer was accepted. One could have expected the Defense Ministry to have examined it in detail and to have conducted a comprehensive analysis. Let us take a closer look at the ministry's handling of the affair. The technical-economic utilization projects were signed by Lieutenant General V. Yakushaw, deputy defense minister, who has recently retired. They were based on recommendations by the Conversion-Housing company, and accordingly, on blueprints developed by the British and American firms. According to the technical-economic projects, the expenditures for purchasing the technology, and operating the Dobrush enterprise would amount to $10-12 million. The Republic's net profit would total $17-18 million. So, what conclusions did the Lieutenant General come to. He assumed that the entire stockpile of dangerous explosive materials deployed on our territory will be destroyed (however, the contract provides for dismantling only 50,000 tonnes), and secondly, that the dismantling would be profitable. Apparently, the problem would have been solved, and moreover, the Republic would have not suffered any financial losses. However, in practice it does not look that cheerful.

Having cross-examined the foreigners' plans, on 30 July 1992, the Defense Ministry represented by First Deputy Defense Minister A. Tushynski and Deputy Defense Minister V. Yakushaw signed the contract on weapons dismantling with the private companies Ropierbase Ltd and Alliance Techsystems Inc. The Cabinet of Ministers approved the contract on 7 November 1992. The following day, at the Dobrush Arsenal, the 43rd mechanical-repair factory was established for production (though it is hard to understand) and dismantling of weapons. In February 1993, the Belarusian-British-American joint-stock company was established. As we see, events proceeded in a very rapid pace, just like in fairy tales. By the way, this becomes quite obvious, following an analysis of the foreign partners' economic situation.

Let us take a look at the American company Alliance Techsystems Inc. The company was registered on 2 October 1990. It has a private scientific-research test ground, and ammunition and arms factories. However, in connection with the reduction of many countries' armed forces, the company has been forced to search for new markets. Hard times have come. In the 1993 fiscal year, the company's sales have dropped by $180 million. Additionally, it has not paid its debts, which now amount to $94 million. Its 1993 deficit amounts to $114 million. The working force has been slashed from 6,700 to 4,500. Under these circumstances, the company's intentions and interests become quite understandable. To avoid any misunderstanding let us go back to the 26 October 1992 Belarusian Utilization Project that was worked out by the foreign companies. The 39th paragraph of this document reads that the foreign side has assessed the value of the property to be converted, and has come to the following conclusions:

There is a high demand for copper, brass, steel, and TNT in world markets; the most valuable are copper and its alloys, which can be obtained from large-caliber shells with brass cartridges; the least valuable is steel that can be obtained from missiles; the faster the reprocessing and the bigger the amount of large-caliber shells, the better the profit. The document provides for Alliance Techsystems to become a joint-stock company sales agent.

Seemingly, the foreign firm's plan is to obtain as much copper as possible, and to improve its financial situation this way. What should those Belarusian plants that are in need of nonferrous metals do? How can they extricate themselves from the crisis? Should they buy these metals on world markets at world prices?

Let us return to our Defense Ministry. Maybe the profit it plans to obtain from the joint-stock company will satisfy the Republic's demand for nonferrous metals.

The technical-economic assessment signed by V. Yakushaw provides for government responsibility for further tasks such as (let us remember that expenses are to be reimbursed by money coming from the sale of dismantled components): delivering weapons to be dismantled and providing facilities for technical equipment, to be included in the joint-stock company assets; providing a working force; transport on Belarusian territory; all public services for the company; housing for U.S. specialists; and insurance for domestic specialists. However, nobody has said a word about the expected Defense Ministry costs.

According to an analysis of the 1993 draft business plan that was worked out by the foreign companies, says Mikalay Vyacherski, in three or five years, dismantling of 50,000 tonnes of weapons will yield $12.4 million-worth of materials and explosives, while expenditures will total $19.9 million. This way, losses will amount to $7.5 million. The responsible Defense Ministry officials, by contrast, count on a $5.5-million profit, including the Belarusian side's share of $3 million. As proof they put forward Belconvers' project for utilization drafted in September, which anticipates that the dismantling of 50,000 tonnes of weapons will return $16.2 million, the joint-venture expenditures will total $6 million, the 43rd mechanical-repair factory costs—$3 million, the American company's expenses—$4.8 million, the British firm's commitments—$1 million, and transport costs—$1.4 million. The outcome is that the expenditures total $16.2 million, not $10.7 million as stated by officials.

Additionally, expenditures for electricity, water supplies, fuel, transport of weapons, and foreign equipment will also be costly. At early-1993 prices, exploitation costs of the 43rd mechanical-repair factory, including a one year supply of electricity and water, will amount to 22 million rubles [R]. Deliveries of weaponry to Dobrush, according to the Belarusian Railroad Commercial Center, will total R70 million, and truck deliveries will amount to R114 million.

Belarus will pay for technical equipment in nonferrous metals of a total value no less than $10 million. What kind of profit is this? Looking forward to the future, the contract will generate losses for us. Additionally, the contract includes the following stipulation: the sides are not responsible for their partners' losses.

There is one more issue. In September 1992, Alliance Techsystems Inc. invited several Defense Ministry officials, who signed the contract and participated in its preparation, to hold negotiations at the company's offices and plants. Should it be considered a special gift for preparing grounds for exporting nonferrous metals?

The foreign companies offered the Defense Ministry technical assistance in the dismantling. As we see, it is inconvenient for Belarus. Maybe, in connection with the critical situation, continued storage of weapons would be very dangerous without foreign assistance? No other offers were made? The answer is no.

First of all, various documents prepared by the Defense Ministry estimate that all weapons to be dismantled as unsuitable for combat purposes amount only to 12,000 tonnes. Another 35,000 tonnes relates to outdated models of weapons.

At the beginning of the year, the Panamanian company Global Technologies Inc., voiced its willingness to purchase special technical equipment, including the outdated weapons, which is stated in a protocol signed with the Belarusinhandel company. The latter, on 24 March 1993, requested sale permission from the Defense Ministry, but it did not receive a response. Only after Belarusinhandel's third petition, the Defense Ministry categorically refused permission. Export of 60,000 pieces of weaponry would have yielded $4.2 million. This is three times more lucrative than the dismantling.

The Missile-Artillery Service of the Defense Ministry has informed the Control Chamber that 35,000 tonnes of the weapons to be destroyed could be sold abroad, and 32,000 tonnes could be dismantled independently, provided that appropriate equipment is purchased.

Secondly, other offers presented to the Defense Ministry have not been seriously examined by the latter, for example offers made by Comet and Farpost companies.

The Belarusian Defense Ministry has received from Moscow a protocol on a technical consultation meeting between representatives of Russia's Defense Ministry and enterprises specializing in weapons dismantling. Pavel Kozlovskiy has ordered A. Tushynski and V. Yakushaw to acquaint themselves with this protocol. Furthermore, there has also been a resolution by state adviser Danilaw, in which he stated: "We are dealing with foreign companies, while there are offers put forward by CIS specialists. I recommend analyzing them." These documents have not been examined.

In addition, Colonel V. Novikaw, deputy chairman of the Scientific-Technical Committee at the Defense Ministry, in his evaluation of weapons dismantling procedures, writes that a great job has been done by the Defense Ministry, HRAU [expansion unknown], the department for weapons and special equipment, the Industry Ministry, and representatives of enterprises and research institutes, in order to develop cooperation with Russia. However, when the Control Chamber requested that Novikaw show documentation on the "great job," the colonel said that there were no such documents, and showed some business cards of people, whom he supposedly consulted on this issue. Nevertheless, Novikaw assessed that all Russian proposals were expensive, incomplete, and did not comply with economic and environment friendly technology.

Moreover, Novikaw has pointed out that Russia does not have weapons dismantling technologies, and only 35 percent of our weaponry could be destroyed on Russian territory. However, this is not true. Arms utilization in Russia includes their production, dismantling, and reprocessing. According to the CIS Information- Analytical Center, Russia and Germany have the most appropriate capabilities for utilization and dismantling of weapons.

Finally, what are the final results of this affair? First of all, the contract between the Defense Ministry and the foreign companies violates Belarusian legislation (due to the volume of the listing, we will not provide details). Secondly, the contract contradicts the Republic's economics interests. Thirdly, the Control Chamber has issued a resolution requesting the defense minister to liquidate all imperfections connected with the contract and the establishment of the joint venture company Belconvers.

It is uncertain what the Defense Ministry will do in this situation. Of course, the most logical solution would be to annul the contract, since it is so inconvenient for the Belarusian side. Hopefully, the Defense Ministry will come to the same conclusion. Moreover, it would be a smart move in a situation when this affair has lost its secrecy, and casts a shadow on certain ministry officials. At least, when in comes to Belarus's interests.

People's Accord Party Head Offered Government Post

WS1911104293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] As we have reported, Council of Ministers Chairman Vyacheslav Kebich proposed to offer the post of deputy prime minister for economic reform to Gennadiy Karpenko, the Party of People's Accord [PPA] leader. The Executive Committee of PPA held a series of consultations with party activists. After a heated discussion, the members of the Committee recommended that Karpenko accept the post of deputy prime minister. According to their opinion, the political situation in Belarus makes prospects for early elections and a change of the government very problematic. This step opens a possibility for the partial reorganization of the Council of Ministers structure and for implementation of real economic reforms.

Space Chief on Plans To Join Space Program

WS1911152393 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Belarus on a New Orbit"]

[Text] The Belarusian government has adopted a resolution on financing an international space exploration program that will be conducted by Belarusian scientists and designers in cooperation with their colleagues from other CIS countries.

As Borys Beregov, chairman of the Republican Council for Space Exploration at the Supreme Soviet Presidium, has reported, "we will partially finance certain features of the program, which will be conducted at Belarusian research institutes and space profile enterprises.

The program does not include any military objects.

Moldova

Russian Presidential Envoy Medvedev Begins Visit

LD1911145393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Nikolay Medvedev, envoy of the Russian Federation president, began talks at the parliament of Moldova today with the heads of a number of the republic's parliamentary commissions. The issues are being examined of implementation of the accords reached during the meeting of heads of state of Russia and Moldova as well as the most efficient ways of resolving the problem of the Dniester Republic. One subject among others that is being dealt with is that of the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the territory of Moldova.

This afternoon a meeting of the Russian delegation with the republic's president Mircea Snegur is scheduled. A trip to Tiraspol is also expected.

Holds Talks on Dniester Issue

LD1911210793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1935 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] A special presidential representative, Nikolay Medvedev, has called on the leaders of the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian Republic to speed up their negotiations with the Moldovan leadership on the political settlement of the conflict in the region. "The more the resolution of the Transdniestrian issue is delayed, the more difficult it will be to solve," he was quoted as saying at his meeting with Transdniestrian President Igor Smirnov in Tiraspol today.

Medvedev confirmed that Russia was ready to continue its mediation role in the negotiation process and promote the stabilization of the situation. "Russia will observe its international obligations to Moldova, its territorial integrity and independence," he said. However, the official pointed out that Moldova should in exchange guarantee the observation of human rights and ethnic minorities, including the Russian-speaking population in Transdniestria.

Medvedev pointed out that the situation in the region on the whole and in Russia had changed significantly over the year that passed since the Russo-Moldovan agreement on the settlement in Transdniestria was signed. He believes that politicians should demonstrate a certain flexibility and search for mutually acceptable compromises in the determination of the Transdniestrian region's special political status.

Earlier that day, Medvedev put forward the same proposals at his meeting with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and Speaker Petr Luchinskiy.

The Russian presidential representative's visit to Moldova will end on November 20.

Proposes Commission on Dniester

LD2011202393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1925 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau November 20 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy in Moldova called on Saturday [20 November] for setting up a commission to work out a special status for the break-away Dniester region of Moldova.

"The settlement of the conflict in the Dniester region should be accelerated. To this end, a commission should set up including representatives of the warring sides and Russian mediators in order to work out a special status for the left-bank districts of Moldova," Nikolay Medvedev said.

Medvedev has been sent to Moldova to help speed up the implementation of agreements reached by the leaders of Russia and Moldova on peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Dniester region.

The Russian delegation spent the last two days in talks and meetings with the Moldovan president, the parliament chairman, leaders of the Dniester region, the commanders of the 14th Russian Army stationed in Moldova, representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), members of the joint commission for conflict settlement and representatives of opposition parties.

The meetings have shown that the sides are determined to resolve the crisis, Medvedev said. The situation is favourable since the period of vacuum of power is over. The Russian president stands for Moldova's integrity and independence and sees its role in the conflict settlement only as a mediator, medvedev stressed.

Medvedev believes the Moldovan president should issue a decree establishing such a commission as soon as possible. The commission would work out documents on the delineation of powers between Chisinau and Tiraspol, the capital of the independence-seeking Dniester Republic, which then will have to be approved by the Moldovan Parliament.

Moldova is ready to grant the Dniester region a special status, but the latter insists on a confederation. The process will not be easy since the sides are still too far from a compromise, but if they make mutual concessions, the agreement could be reached, Medvedev said.

Views Ways To Settle Conflict

AU2011210893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2015 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Mircea Dascaliuc report from Chisinau]

[Text] The official Russian delegation led by Nikolay Medvedev, the head of the Presidential Administration Directorate of the Russian Federation, special envoy of President Boris Yeltsin, continued its visit in the Republic of Moldova.

Today in the morning they went to Tiraspol. The radio of the self-styled Dniester Republic has announced that the Russian delegation held talks with Igor Smirnov and Grigore Maracuta, the two leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, and with other local officials. No details are known about their talks as they were held behind closed doors, the same sources said.

This evening Medvedev organized a news conference, in the opening statement of which he said that the purpose of his current visit is to assess the situation in the conflict zone in the Dniester region and to accelerate the putting into practice of the decision taken by the two presidents, Boris Yeltsin, and Mircea Snegur. He also tried to identify new elements that could help negotiations conducted with the Republic of Moldova and to lend a more dynamic character to the political dialogue intended to solve the Dniester problem.

Medvedev assessed that currently sufficient conditions are met to intensify diplomatic activities. If both parties resort to the diplomatic method, positive final solutions could be found soon.

It is true, there are some problems that cannot be solved very rapidly; the Dniester Republic also has certain internal problems, President Yeltsin's special envoy said. However, work on the creation of a juridical basis for the settlement of the conflict in Moldova's eastern rayons could be accelerated.

President Yeltsin's stance has not changed: He did not and he does not claim any other role for the Russian Federation, but merely that of a mediator. Moscow has always had and still has a sole position in its relations with Moldova, Medvedev said, namely that the unity and territorial integrity of Moldova, according to international juridical norms, represent the unique strategy for the settlement of the conflict.

During their two-day visit the members of the Russian delegation met with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, Parliament Speaker Petru Lucinschi, Premier Andrei Sangheli, leaders of political parties and alliances, the commanders of the [Russian] 14th Army, representatives of the Unified Control Commission [monitoring the cease-fire in Dniester], and with members of the CSCE mission in Moldova. All the aforementioned meetings were also attended by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation accredited in Chisinau, Vladimir Plechko.

After the conclusion of the second day of the visit, the Russian delegation held a second round of talks with President Snegur. Those talks were followed by the news conference of Medvedev, during which he answered extremely briefly, even in a laconic way, to the questions addressed to him by the press.

Smirnov Aide Comments on 14th Army Withdrawal

AU2011061193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2020 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 18/11/1993—Today the presidency press-service of the Dniester government published an interview with General-Major Anatoliy Kurchin, military counselor of Igor Smirnov, on the occasion of the Moldo-Russian negotiations for the 14th Army withdrawal. According to Kurchin, at the 7th round of negotiations no progress was achieved, and only agreements of minor importance were signed. The quoted source estimated that Moldova had a more harsh position. Representatives of Chisinau authorities formulated for the first time the claim concerning the damages done by the Soviet Army and respectively the Russian one during the dislocation on the territory of Moldova. Kurchin stresses that the Ambassador of Moldova in Moscow, Anatol Taranu, declared that the use of the grounds for polygons and communications, the environment damages etc., were taken in account. Smirnov's counselor mentioned that Moldova refused to contribute to building of bivouacs for Russian troops that were to be withdrawn, due to the financial difficulties it faced. Kurchin asserts that the deputation of Moldova gave up the previous agreement of Presidents Yeltsin and Snegur to synchronize the evacuation of the Russian army from the territory of Moldova with granting a special status to Eastern districts.

Enovy to Russia Opposes 14th Army-Dniester Link

AU2011061293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2020 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 18/11/1993—Nikolay Medvedev, special envoy of the Russian president, should arrive today in Chisinau in accordance with the agreements between Mircea Snegur and Boris Yeltsin, states the communique of the Moldovan Embassy in Moscow. Medvedev is in charge of "surveying" the position of official Chisinau on political ways of settling the Dniester conflict, states the quoted source. Anatol Taranu, Moldovan ambassador in Russia, head of the Moldovan delegation at the second round of negotiations on the 14th Army withdrawal from November 9th-12th in Moscow, stated that the results of the round are not quite good. The Russian delegation insisted on the synchronization of the withdrawal of the 14th Army with the special status for Dniester. Taranu added that steps are made to find ways out of the created situation. "The Moldovan delegation warned the Russian part that the synchronization principle became a convenient excuse for the Dniester leaders, but it did not consider this," stated Taranu. According to him, the last round is characteristic by the slowed process of negotiations. The eighth round will show whether this is a temporary tendency or the negotiations are in a long-term crisis. Taranu asserted that the setting of the terms of 14th Army withdrawal is the most difficult problem. The other problems could be solved through mutual compromises. The next round of negotiations will take place in Chisinau on January 1994.

Gagauz Republic Not To Participate in Elections

LD1911141693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] A session of the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic has decided to stay away from the elections to the Moldovan Parliament, set for next February, if Gagauzia's status is not defined by this time.

National Bank Head on National Currency Introduction

LD2011132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS Correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau November 20 TASS—At present Moldova has enough currency resources for putting into circulation its own national currency on November 29, President of the National Bank of Moldova Leonid Tolmach said in an interview with the VECHERNY CHISINAU newspaper.

According to Tolmach, Western financial assistance will keep the Moldovan ley afloat. The first dollar injections will help cover the deficit of the balance of payment. The newspaper learned from confidential sources that dollar injections, intended for the strengthening of the Moldovan ley, will amount to 60 million in 1994.

The circulation of all coupons, 1961-1992 rouble banknotes, as well as the five-ley banknote put into circulation recently, will end on November 29.

Introduction 'Problematic' in Dniester

AU2011060893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2020 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 18/11/1993—The application of the Moldovan leu in the Eastern districts of Moldova. The moment of its introduction, is problematic, stated to BASA Dumitru Ursu, vice governor of the National Bank of Moldova. "There were negotiations on different levels in this direction, but from the available information, the Dniester part is eager to accept the leu only by money transfers," Ursu declared. The banks of Eastern districts of the republic have remainders of discount in the National Bank of Moldova on their transfer accounts. At the moment of national currency introduction, they will be automatically transformed in lei, added the quoted source. Referring to the eventual application of the Dniester coupon on the territory of Eastern districts of Moldova, Vice Governor Ursu estimated that these bills would be recognized neither by the Republic of Moldova, nor by neighbouring countries. On the other hand, sources from Tiraspol communicated that the National Bank of Moldova and the Dniester Bank came to a compromise regarding a single system of money transfers between industrial units on both sides of River Dniester, the leu being accepted as a calculation measure. Simultaneously with the launching of leu, in Dniester, from political reasons, the Dniester coupon will be put in circulation. The equality will be maintained between coupon and leu. Previously, they achieved an agreement on the statute of the Dniester Bank as a branch of the Moldovan National Bank.

Gagauzia Accepts Leu as Currency

AU2011061093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2020 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 18/11/1993—Comrat authorities see no use and have no means for introducing local national currency stated to BASA Andrei Bulukli, Gagauz deputy premier. According to him, the Comrat government will, however, make efforts to consolidate its own banking and financial system. Another Comrat dignitary told BASA that the so-called Gagauz republic had not pretended to get out of the circulation zone of Moldovan coupon, thereby it will accept the introduction of the leu in regions compactly inhabited by Gagauzians. The state of the economic and financial system is discussed today in the Gagauz Supreme Soviet. The Comrat government presents there the report for 10 months of activity. Controversial discussions are expected on Comrat's official attitude towards the participation of people from Moldovan southern regions in Parliamentary election on February 27th. The Comrat Supreme Soviet Presidium had beforehand recommended deputies to approve a decision to change the date of elections in local self- administration bodies for February 20th to avoid the coincidence with the other elections.

Gagauzia Accepts New Currency; Dniester Silent

MK2011141593 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 20 Nov 93, No. 81 (Signed to press 19 Nov) p 4

[Dmitriy Zhdannikov report under the "Reforms" rubric: "Moldova Prepares To Introduce Own Currency. It Will Be Valid in Gagauzia. Dniester Region Still Silent"]

[Text] Dmitriy Ursu, first vice president of the National Bank of Moldova, in a press conference did not deny the rumors being actively circulated in Chisinau about putting the Moldovan leu into circulation over the coming weekend. At the same time, Mr. Ursu confirmed the two-week old statement by Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli to the effect that the leu would be introduced in Moldova before 29 November.

He underlined that the money reform is not going to be confiscatory or discriminatory: "Optimal conditions will be created for exchanging the money." According to him all the money held by the population and kept on enterprises' accounts, and on private savings banks accounts, shall be exchanged. The exchange shall be effected at an established rate. The national currency, according to National Bank spokesmen, has been printed in the requisite quantities, and the government has the funds to support it during the first stage.

At the same time, rumors of the introduction of a national currency over the coming weekend caused panic among Moldova's population. On 17 November, people of Chisinau, an INTERFAX correspondent reports, were buying up goods in the stores and formed long lines outside savings banks. People pay for public utilities one month in advance and withdraw their savings. Overwhelmed by the influx of clients, some savings banks in Chisinau refused to accept payments from the population.

The rates of foreign currencies skyrocketed. In particular, on 17 November the rate of the dollar grew over the past two days nearly 2,000 points, reaching 6,000 Moldovan coupons. Attempts by National Bank spokesmen to pacify the population had just the opposite effect.

In the meantime, the Moldova Government is taking measures to introduce the national currency on the entire territory of the republic. In particular, President Mircea Snegur's press service circulated on 17 November a statement saying that Moldova would have to turn to international bodies unless attempts to interfere in its internal affairs from some states do not stop. The case in point is preparations being made by the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic to introduce its own currency. Information to this effect was recently leaked to the press. The Russian ruble so far remains the only legal tender. The republic, however, is experiencing a very acute shortage of cash because Russia allocates it nothing from the budget.

The Dniester Moldovan Republic leaders have not reacted to the Moldovan president's protest yet. In the meantime, the other self-proclaimed republic—Gagauzia—has already agreed in principle to introduce the Moldovan leu on its territory. Ivan Mutkoglo, head of Gagauzia's Supreme Soviet secretariat, stated that his republic is forced to agree with the Moldovan Government proposal because there is no other way out. "We have not printed our own currency, and it seems impossible to remain in the ruble zone."

Ivan Mutkoglo stressed at the same time that Gagauzia had always advocated the preservation of a single ruble zone, and described the introduction of the Moldovan leu a step unjustified politically and economically. Despite its consent to accept the national currency, the government of Gagauzia foretells an inevitable devaluation of the new monetary unit under conditions of a colossal production slump in Moldova and an extremely slow progress of economic reform.

Sangheli Outlines Main Tasks of Transition Period

AU2011063993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2020 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 18/11/1993—"The government conceives its main task to control the situation in national economy, to gradually head on the reform path, to assure people's needs, first of all with food products," states the Moldovan Premier Andrei Sangheli in the newspaper "NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA" (INDEPENDENT MOLDOVA). In his opinion, the situation is aggravated because 60 percent of population "feed themselves" from the budget, and thus "a number of consumers is greater than that of producers." "In the conditions of a hard transition of free market economy, the government tackles the problem of social protection first of all in the context of ensuring stability in society and protecting the social economic rights of the population," says Sangheli. To avoid heavy unemployment and social tensions, the government puts a social accent on privatization of the industrial units, 20 percent of shares being distributed among the employees of these units, asserts the premier. "We are all accustomed to treat the state as a general philanthropist organization. We have to promote a realistic policy of attracting people on the side of economic reformations," states the newspaper.

Sangheli on Economic Ties With CIS, West

LD1811175593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 18 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fyodor Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau November 18 TASS—"The Moldovan Government aims at restoring economic ties in the East and activizing them in the West," Moldovan Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli said in an interview with the "INDEPENDENT MOLDOVA" daily on Thursday.

According to him, the Commonwealth's member states (particularly Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan) account for four fifths of Moldova's export-import operations.

Romania, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, the United States of America and the Netherlands are Moldova's major Western partners, he said.

Sangheli described results of agricultural sector's development in 1993 as satisfactory. As of November 1, Moldova stocked 2,415,000 tonnes of grain as compared to 1,766,800 tonnes in 1992.

This autumn, despite fuel shortages, Moldovans sowed 440,000 hectares with winter crops.

A rather good harvest of sugar beetroot, vinegar, fruit and tobacco was reaped.

On the other hand, livestock population and productivity continue to fall because of the rise in fodder prices which in its turn was brought about by rise in prices for imported energy sources.

Nevertheless, Moldova's agriculture has completed the first stage of the privatisation programme. Over a third of state farms and collective farms were transformed into joint stock societies. About 6,000 individual peasant farms emerged.

According to the Moldovan prime minister, industrial construction sector ran into major difficulties in the republic and several key construction projects are still awaiting completion. Total cost of the unfinished construction projects amounts to 45 billion roubles.

Notwithstanding production recession, growing inflation and rise in prices, Moldova's Government takes measures to consolidate the budget-and-taxation system and the social welfare system.

After a recent rise in minimal wages they total 10,000 roubles. Pensions average 18,000 roubles, wages—36,000 roubles.

In Sangheli's opinion, the fact that almost 60 per cent of the republic's population depend on the state budget for their livelihood whereas the production sphere continues to shrink and struggles to survive under the existing taxes.

Nation Faces Worst Energy Crisis 'Since World War II'

AU2111201093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1758 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 20/11/1993—Moldova is facing the most acute energy crisis since World War II. In the last quarter fuel stocks at power stations reduced to zero. The traffic of passengers is unsatisfactory due to the chaotic and insufficient supply with fuel. Flats and institutions are no longer supplied with hot water, except kindergartens and maternity hospitals. Norms of electric energy consumption were reduced by 40 percent. This winter, due to the catastrophic lack of fuel, Moldova will face the problem of survival, stated Nicolae Ciornai, director of the State Association for Fuel. He stressed that the energy complex was actually not prepared for the winter. Experts of the association and of the Department for Energy Resources have recently assessed that over the six months of the 1993-1994 winter, minimum energy imports should include 380,000 tonnes of coal and 50,000 tonnes of gasoline monthly. According to statistics, Moldova imported in November 14,000 tonnes of gasoline, 34,000 tonnes of diesel oil, 77,000 tonnes of fuel oil, and 212,000 tonnes of coal. Since 1990, Moldova has reduced the consumption of gasoline by 8.2 times, of diesel oil by 5 times, of fuel oil by 4.6 times, and that of coal by 1.6 times. Many experts say that the causes of the current energy crisis lie outside the country. Despite the fact that some local decision-makers are also guilty for the decline, the crisis is mostly due to the destabilizing recession coming from Russia, which is still the big supplier of energy to Moldova. Over almost 40 years, Moldova has stuck to a single source. The future gives no reason to be optimistic. Sources of the government state that in 1994 Russia will reduce fuel deliveries to Moldova by 20-30 percent. Though the energy supply was discussed at the recent session of the CIS Coordinating Council, no solution was found. Economic analysts forecast that Moldova needs for energy over this autumn and winter will be covered merely by 25-40 percent. The current energy crisis is bound to substantially influence the general state of economy, making it harder for political parties to win the [February 1994] elections.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Urges Strong Executive Power

LD1911201093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The situation in Kazakhstan is becoming more difficult, particularly after the republic's parliament granted the president and the government the right to take urgent decisions to speed up economic reform, President Nazarbayev said Friday [19 November] during his tour of the republic's north.

The resolutions adopted by parliament are described by Nazarbayev as pressure of populism and added that Kazakhstan would not withstand the power crisis.

The president has said that four district councils had declared their self-dissolution in Almaty alone. Self-dissolution is not the best remedy, but we must not delay. Kazakhstan's integrity and statehood could be kept only by tight power, he said.

The republic should have a professional parliament with 135 seats which could be called the National Assembly

The president believes that democracy foundations in the republic could be built only by the strong executive power. Our legislators were slow in many respects, said Nazarbayev.

Nazarbayev Sacks Four Oblast Administration Heads

LD2011131593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who has been on a working visit throughout the republic on 18-19 November, has signed four edicts sacking the heads of Kustanay, Kokshetau, Aktyubinsk, and Mangistau Oblast Administrations. Local observers believe, as the POSTFAKTUM agency reports, that the president has used the situation arising from the introduction of a national currency for an intensive purge of power structures and toughening of executive discipline. According to available information, in the very near future a serious reshuffling of personnel will begin in the top echelons of authority as well.

Nazarbayev: New Currency Not Break With Russia

LD1911173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1441 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Amangeldyy Akhmetalimov, Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty November 19 TASS—The introduction of the national currency in Kazakhstan "does not mean Kazakhstan's departure from integration in the framework of the CIS economic council and the break-up of its ties with Russia," said Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev at a meeting with leaders of Kazakh northern regions as he was completing his visit to these regions on Friday.

Nazarbayev called on Russia and Kazakhstan," being neighbours for ever, to live in friendship, unity and confidence as before."

Speaking on the monetary reform, the Kazakh president declared that "it is necessary to ensure stability of the Kazakh national currency and its convertibility. Therefore, speculation and other shadow transactions with it should prevented by all means," Nazarbayev said, adding that this was especially important as regards the Russian rouble.

"By organizing the exchange and sale of the Russian currency through currency exchanges we shall create a normal liquidity market for its purchase and sales to carry out organized imports of goods from the Russian Federation which are necessary for Kazakhstan," Nazarbayev said.

Tajikistan

Alimov Confirms Dialogue With Opposition

LD1911181793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1549 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaily Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The leaders of Tajikistan are not only willing to conduct a dialogue with the opposition. Such a dialogue began long ago, the head of Tajik diplomacy, Rashid Alimov, told Interfax.

However he declined to answer the question as to who the dialogue is conducted with. "The fruit must ripen before it is picked and displayed," the Tajik foreign minister said.

According to him, Tajik society must come to realize the need for dialogue, since "the wounds of the civil war are still bleeding." "No one says that only one side must take part in the dialogue, for it would be a monologue," the foreign minister pointed out. "As for the section of the Tajik opposition which declares that it will speak only with the Russian or some other government, but not with the government of Tajikistan, this is not our problem. It is of fundamental importance that we respect the stand taken by any man, if its nature is not reactionary."

When asked how true the reports that there is no unity among the Tajik leadership are, Alimov said: "I have heard of no leadership in full unity with the exception of the former USSR with total unity between the Politburo, the Central Committee, the Communist Party and the people."

According to him, "there are differences, of course, but of businesslike and constructive nature." "The fact that both branches of power (executive and legislative—IF [INTERFAX]) can criticize each other without adverse consequences only proves how democratic our leadership is," Alimov said. "We stand for pluralism, not for singularity of outlooks."

"Time has come to stop fighting for power by undemocratic means," Alimov said. "It is evident that the road taken in 1917 was doomed to failure from the beginning. Those who tried to take power in Tajikistan in their own hands last year also suffered defeat," he said.

According to Alimov, the restoration of peace in Tajikistan will depend largely on when society is ready to forgive. "I wish everyone would be able to cross this psychological Rubicon as soon as possible," he said.

All CIS members, and particularly Russia, "which, together with other states, shouldered a great burden of responsibility for developments in the region, sympathize with Tajikistan". "Russia played a special role in the endeavors to stabilize the situation here. Its peace-making efforts made it possible to resolve many problems," he said.

Thousands of 'Militants' Gather Across Border

LD1911171593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] About 3,000 militants belonging to the Tajik opposition gathered opposite the Pyandzh station of Russian frontier troops, a local officer told Interfax. In the past few days, the militants became more active, regrouping their forces across the border.

According to the officer, "the only sensible way out" of the complicated situation on the border is to enter into talks with the opposition on different levels. It is possible to work out compromises in the course of such consultations, he said. Thanks to this kind of approach an agreement was reached as a result of which about 300 Tajik refugees returned home through the check point in Lower Pyandzh on Wednesday and Thursday.

General Pyankov Interviewed on Army Exercises

LD1911153893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Interview with B. Pyankov, commander of peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, by announcer Alisher Khodzhayev; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Khodzhayev] The motorized infantry battalion which belongs to the coalition peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan today continued the planned tactical exercise involving live fire in the locality of Khalkadzhar, near the Nizhniy Pyandzh encampment on the Tajik-Afghan border. The aim of the exercise is to improve the march training of mechanics and drivers of armoured equipment in mountainous conditions during nighttime, and also to enhance commanding officers' skills in organizing the control of all the weapons at their disposal during nighttime battle operations.

The military exercises were being held very close to the border. Were you obliged to inform the neighboring side or to invite military observers from Afghanistan?

[Pyankov] According to international accords and agreements, we are obliged to invite observers to exercises involving 15,000 and more men. These are as a rule major divisional exercises or tactical corps exercises, or larger scale exercises, but we held battalion-level exercises and it is not obligatory to invite observers to such exercises. [video shows parked tanks, tanks on the move, firing, smoke and tracers at night, military map and General Pyankov]

Uzbekistan

President Karimov's Visit to Britain Previewed

LD2111152993 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0600 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] One day remains before the visit of Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov to Great Britain. The people of Uzbekistan are hopeful of the success of the visit, initiated by the Government of Britain, and the revival of ties with Great Britain, situated in the most western part of Europe. The cooperation of Uzbekistan and Great Britain will basically involve three areas, stated the UK ambassador to Uzbekistan.

First, trade and entrepreneurship. Currently, representatives from a number firms and banks from Great Britain are operating in Uzbekistan. Second, Great Britain is rendering Uzbekistan technical assistance and also has the right to [word indistinct]. Cultural cooperation makes up the third area of our cooperation. The British Parliament, unfortunately, stated the ambassador does not have a full picture of Uzbekistan yet. I think that from now, such [words indistinct]. In one word, the visit of the Uzbek president to Great Britain will open a new path for relations between the two countries as well as for relations between Central Asia and Europe.

Ambassador to United States Asks for Asylum

LD1911140393 Moscow INTERFAX in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Uzbekistan's Ambassador to the U.S. Mohammad-Bogir Malikov has asked the American authorities to grant him asylum.

In comments on this the press service of the Uzbek Foreign Ministry said that Malikov is guilty of having recently committed serious violations in the diplomatic, financial and economic activity of his embassy, as well as of abusing his privileges for the purpose of embezzlement. His spending has considerably exceeded his legal financial means.

According to the information available to Uzbekistan's Foreign Ministry, Malikov is known to have accepted particularly expensive personal presents. Early this month he was recalled from the U.S. and relieved of his ambassadorial duties on November 8. He was granted an important job at his country's state control committee, but, according to the press service, he used his old service connections and documents, left Uzbekistan secretly and emerged in Washington on November 15.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Introduces New National Currency

NC1911205093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Address to nation by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots, the already grave social and economic condition of the Republic has been compounded by new trials in recent days in connection with the collapse of the currency circulation and the new manifestations of hyperinflation.

This was not a surprise. Similar situations have arisen in all the newly independent republics where the rubles printed between 1961 and 1992 by the USSR State Bank and the Russian Central Bank were still officially in circulation.

You know well that Armenia signed agreements with a number of former Soviet republics and the Russian Federation in September of this year on the formation of a single ruble zone. A bilateral agreement was also signed between Armenia and Russia. The formation of the single ruble zone and our position on it was motivated by the necessity to solve the existing problems as well as by long-term economic, social, political, and geopolitical considerations.

We did everything required of us to create a single ruble zone by taking civilized and coordinated measures. However, due to Russia's boorish attitude and independent actions, the process of collapse of the financial system went out of control, and this required a revision of the current policies.

In the final analysis, it was Russia that stood outside the ruble zone. Kazkahstan and Uzbekistan followed her path in recent days. We too must make our choice. We had anticipated such a prospect for the development of the ruble zone no matter how undesirable that prospect was. And, accordingly we took the necessary steps. The national currency, the dram, was printed and brought to the republic. Active talks were held with the IMF and various countries on taking stabilization measures in case of the possible introduction of the national currency. In order to formulate and take comprehensive measures on currency circulation, the Armenian Supreme Council established a special state commission on 13 October 1993.

And now, having comprehensively assessed the new situation, and being guided by the jurisdictions legally devolved on it, the State Commission on Regulating Currency Circulation has decided to terminate the circulation of the 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 denominations of the rubles [R] printed between 1991-1992 [dates as heard] by the USSR State Bank and Russian Central Bank in the Armenian republic as of 0000 on 22 November 1993. Such a step aims first of all to prevent the banknotes that are out of circulation elsewhere from entering Armenia. Second, to render governable the entire monetary system, and make it serve the stabilization of our economy and solution of the problems related to the social protection of the people. And third, on the basis of the new economic independence, to search for more (?productive) and mutually advantageous new ways for further development of cooperation with Russia and the former Soviet republic.

The commission's decision also means that the Armenian republic Central Bank's 1993 banknotes with 10-, 25-, 50-, 100-, 200-, and 500-dram denominations will be put into circulation as of 22 November 1993. Thus, Armenian currency is being put into circulation with one banknote being equal to R200. That is, one dram will equal R200.

This decision is significant in that a qualitatively new climate of social and economic relations is being created in our republic. Such a step not only aims at surmounting all the complexities that have resulted from hyperinflation and chaotic currency circulation, but also at creating the prerequisite for the stabilization of the economy and for the realization of the economic reforms.

The new situation requires clear, firm, and consistent work in all spheres. There is no other alternative any more. The stability, (?strength), and exchange value of the Armenian currency will depend on the work of the entire republic and of each of us. The productive organization of our economic life should assist us in this work.

Undoubtedly, it would have been preferable if we had introduced the national currency after overcoming the blockade, solving numerous problems connected with the winter, stabilizing the economy to a certain degree, and creating at least the minimum guarantees for the social protection of the people. However, we were not given the chance to make such a choice. No matter how difficult and complex the situation is, we are obliged not only to circulate our own national currency, but should also consider it a matter of honor for each of us to maintain its prestige in the proper manner.

The organization for the exchange of banknotes is of the utmost importance. The state commission has taken the necessary steps in this direction. Exchange Commissions will be set up in all the enterprises and establishments, in bank branches, and in local councils.

In order to protect the republic's domestic market from a possible influx of currency, it is planned to allow each adult citizen of the republic to directly exchange R50,000, and receive 250 drams in return. Any amount above 50,000 in R1,000, R5,000, and R10,000 denominations printed between 1991-1992 should be deposited in special account numbers in the Savings Bank until 26 November inclusive. All the republic's citizens, and here I have in mind particularly the villagers, who would be depositing their earnings in the bank accounts should remain assured that their deposits will be safe, and after a short period they will be able to freely dispose of their accounts. This measure has its origin solely in the effort to protect the domestic market of the republic. Yes, there will also be people who, moved by hopes to profit from the existing situation will resort to various other machinations and create panic. Therefore, I want to state with the utmost firmness that the earnings made by our citizens will be most reliably protected and exchanged for drams either directly or through bank deposits. And, various illicit acts will be prevented with the full severity of the law.

I also want to stress the importance of the responsibility that falls on the leadership of the local councils, enterprises, establishments, banks, and Exchange Commissions. Any shortcoming or negligence is, as of today, tantamount to treason.

The organization of the exchange of dram is a serious technical task, and the state commission and the government must do everything to make it successful under organized and normal conditions for the population of the republic.

However, the main task still lies ahead of us. It is now mandatory to introduce serious corrections to the entire economic policy, to fundamentally improve the banking system, to (?examine) tax incentives and the productivity of the taxing and budgetary policies, and to radically improve the functions of each administrative loop. The entire administrative system should help activate the economy, spur the foreign trade, increase the volume of imports, and establish control on monetary circulation. This requires that the republic's legislative and executive organs should revise a number of former decisions and should work in a coordinated manner. At the same time, the most active work should go on to ensure the maintenance of the value of the dram.

Dear compatriots, [words indistinct] this new currency transformation will be a new trial and a new unavoidable step for each of us. It remains to be hoped that the currency measure will make it possible to render steps towards economic stability more effective, and will make it possible to find a more acceptable and viable means for further deepening of the economic integration and cooperation between the newly independent states. In all cases, the circulation of the national currency is a historic and memorable event. Therefore, come, let us welcome it with optimism and firmness, and with confidence in the future.

Dear people, having ended the formal section of my statement, I want to address you personally to clarify certain points.

The existing situation, this unimaginable situation of prices, is artificial. Don't worry that prices might stay as they are. Today's artificial prices are connected with the influx of a certain amount of rubles from abroad, and [word indistinct] trade. Therefore, these phenomena will certainly be eliminated when we introduce our own currency, thus making it possible to control the influx of rubles from abroad.

Therefore, there is no doubt that the situation will one of full stability very soon. By full stability, I do not mean that prices will fall sharply. Prices will fall almost to the level they were two weeks ago. After that, we have to take the necessary measures to put enough goods on the market. We have that capability. A certain amount of goods have been accumulated. We also have the capability to inject certain amounts of foreign currencies into the currency market. Naturally, we will be asked why we are introducing our national currency now and why it was impossible to do it before or why we could not remain in the ruble zone.

These questions have been the center of constant attention by our officials and government for the last six months.

With regard to the ruble zone, I have already said that we have fulfilled all our requirements and obligations. The Armenian Supreme Council ratified the agreement we signed with Russia. It ratified the agreement with the CIS countries on the formation of the ruble zone. And, having fulfilled our obligations, we were ready to bring all our legislation in line with the requirements of these agreements, but Russia took unexpected measures. On one hand, Russia came forward as a vigorous champion of the CIS integration processes. On the other hand, Russia, moved purely by its economic interests, was trying to free itself from the burden of the republics. It was this last consideration that was eventually victorious. We could do no more. If we had taken this step several months ago, like (?Turkmenistan) did, we would have become a serious target for attack. Armenia would have been accused of undermining the CIS, spoiling Armenian-Russian relations, and so on. All the blame would have been put on us, and it would have been very hard for us to escape the economic and—and I want to stress this—the political consequences of this attack. It must be understood that the economy, finance, and the ruble are connected to political issues, and it would not have been good for us to be branded as the side pursuing an anti-Russian policy or as the side trying to worsen Armenian-Russian relations. Therefore, I think that our stance on this subject was completely justified politically and that this moment was brought upon us by the existing conditions. It must also be noted that, with regard to the timing of this measure, we are not lagging behind powerful states, such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. They made a decision like this just last Monday, and we will accomplish the same thing next Monday.

We must also note that this measure was motivated by two important considerations: The first, as I already said, was to prevent the influx of excessive rubles into Armenia. Such an influx took place. Recently we stepped up customs control. The customs officials have already confiscated an enormous amount of rubles. This is only the confiscated amount, and I do not exclude the influx of more rubles to Armenia through illegal routes. And second, the most important thing, henceforth Armenia will be able to fully control its own currency circulation. Henceforth, we are not dependent on the Russian Central Bank. Henceforth, we will control the prices, inflation, and issuance of money. It is of the utmost importance that we ensure our economic independence, and is also important generally from the standpoint of domestic self-determination.

As regards the timing, I already said that it was prompted by certain political and economic considerations. (?All these) were already mentioned in our proclamation of independence. It envisaged the introduction of our national currency in one beautiful day. This was a law for us. No one could have opposed this eventual move. We could have even insisted that we should have introduced the national currency earlier in keeping with our proclamation of independence. There is no problem in this regard. The problem was only in timing. And, as I already said, the timing was not of our choice, it was imposed. But, there is no need to be apprehensive. The situation is fully controllable. You can rest assured that no confiscatory measures have been introduced. You already know from the decision that each adult citizen can exchange R50,000 in cash. This is already a large sum, considering the situation in our republic. I am certain that not even 95 percent of our population will be able to exchange the R50,000, because in fact they do not have that much money. The issue mostly concerns the remaining 5 percent who have large sums. One should assume that most of this money is from gains made legally, first of all incomes from agricultural sales by the farmers who received special rubles for their goods. And I am sure that no one will suffer in this transaction. No one will suffer, all the justly gained incomes will be fully remitted in our national currency. This is the first point. Second, it is obvious that soon after the completion of the currency exchange, that is, as of 26 November, each citizen can freely and fully withdraw his former deposits in the Savings Bank branches in equal amounts in dram. Therefore, I think our people have no reason to worry on this issue. There is no need to be concerned. I can assure you that the situation will improve greatly very soon. It cannot improve faster than that. Thanks.

Parliament Suspends Session To Monitor Currency Change

LD2011163593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] According to the SNARK agency, in connection with the introduction of the national currency in Armenia on 22 November, the republic's Supreme Council has taken the decision to suspend its regular sessions for a week. Some deputies, most likely, will go to the regions to monitor the exchange of money. Meanwhile, since Saturday the Yerevan underground has been operating free of charge. The government has made this gift to the Armenian citizens in connection with the upcoming introduction of the national currency. On Sunday and Monday a journey on the underground will still be free.

Currency Introduction Causes 'Financial Chaos'

NC2111173893 Yerevan SNARK in English 0933 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 19 (SNARK)—The financial chaos is going on in Armenia. In connection with rumors on the money exchange all the commercial shops closed. The rouble of 1961-1992 has become invaluable. The state shops sell only bread and papers. In the conditions of frosts and snowfalls, the absence of the central heating, the majority of the population has no chance to buy the kerosene which can be bought only by Russian roubles.

The Government keeps silence, giving no "yes" or "no" on the national currency entrance. SNARK was informed Levon Ter-Petrosyan is going to speak on TV.

Yerevan Criticizes Azerbaijan for Rail Sabotage

NC1911160293 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1617 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Foreign Ministry issued a statement today in which it resolutely condemned the latest act—that is, the blowing up of the railway linking Armenia to Georgia—aimed at unleashing a new wave of destabilization in the region, considering it an act of sabotage planned and carried out by the leadership of the Azerbaijan Republic against the Armenian Republic and its people.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry believes that with this latest act of state terrorism Azerbaijan's militaristic circles are trying to force the Armenian people to its knees and force the Armenian authorities to give up the principle of a just and civilized solution of Karabakh problem.

The international community and organizations were called upon to make efforts to stop Azerbaijan's renewed acts of terror, which contradict Point 4 of the UN Security Council Resolution 884, calling for an immediate end to the military operations and hostile acts.

The statement expressed the conviction that the neighboring Georgia will not allow its territory to be used for the organization and execution of hostile acts of terror against Armenia.

Papazyan Welcomes Vienna Schedule on Karabakh

NC1911175693 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1337 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan stated at a news conference yesterday that the political and diplomatic solution to the Karabakh problem has now reached a stage that could be extremely crucial for the future. He also believes that peace can be attained only if the processes taking place within the framework of the CSCE Minsk Group and of Russia's active mediation efforts are pulled together. This is what the Armenian diplomatic efforts aim at, and, in the opinion of the Armenian foreign minister, certain successes have already been achieved.

He said: We welcome the intensification of Russia's mediation efforts for the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh problem simply because it is impossible to imagine such a process taking place without the active participation of Russia.

Commenting on the revised schedule on urgent measures drawn up in Vienna, Papazyan said that in the opinion of the Republic's leadership, if implemented it could create real possibilities for the gradual reduction of tension and lead to peace talks, and it is fully acceptable to the Armenian people.

Foreign Ministry Bars Opposition Reporters

NC2111180693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0924 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 20 (SNARK)—Reporters of three opposition newspapers "ERKIR", "AZATAMART", "VOICE OF ARMENIA" and "AILUR" news agency were deprived of accreditation at the Armenian Foreign Ministry.

"This measure doesn't contradict the Press Law and cannot be aimed to limit freedom of the press, and it [is] only the attempt to keep away the Foreign Minister from falsification and ill- intended fabrications", Aram Safaryan, Armenian Foreign Ministry press-center chief, has said today to the SNARK reporter.

He has cleared up that the reporters of above-mentioned newspapers published a range of materials, which "discredit the political leaders of Armenia, including the Foreign Ministry head, in order to take away attention of people from the essence of political and theoretical contradictions while discussing different problems". It should be added that statements of Vahan Papazyan, the Armenian Foreign Minister, were strongly criticized by the opposition press, saying that the old structures in the Armenian diaspora are not already actual and must be changed into new, corresponding to the current realities.

Azerbaijan

Russian Envoy Kazimirov's Car Fired On From Armenia

LD2011181193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1726 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku November 20 TASS—Russian special envoy in Azerbaijan Vladimir Kazimirov was attacked in the car he was riding in with his colleagues in Azerbaijan on Saturday.

The car came under automatic gun and artillery fire at 11:00 when after the completion of talks in Baku the Russian delegation was heading from the Kazakh district of Azerbaijan for Armenia. The shots were fired from the Armenian-controlled village of Ashagy Askipara, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS.

Ministry officials said the Armenian side had been informed about Kazimirov's visit beforehand. Kazimirov has been in the region for a week to mediate peace talks between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

After the attack the delegation canceled the trip and is currently staying in Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry described the incident as an "action aimed at thwarting a very important move to reach peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict."

Envoy Blames 'Uncontrolled Armed Formation'

LD2111141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1354 GMT 21 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov—"The incident on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border must not halt progress toward a positive solution to the conflict", said Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian President's special representative for a settlement to the Karabakh conflict and the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry's special envoy, in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

As reported earlier, the car of the Russian president's special representative was fired upon on Saturday while crossing the Armenian-Azerbaijani border from the Armenian side. Kazimirov acknowledges the fact that the firing could have been opened up by an uncontrolled armed formation, but there has been no final confirmation of this yet.

"In any event", the envoy said, "the Russian mediatory mission in the region will continue". He intends to fly to Yerevan within the next few days.

Yerevan Official Blames Baku

LD2111151293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] In an interview with the "Moscow Echo" radio station Aram Abramyan, press secretary to the Armenian president, has said the attack on Vladimir Kazimirov, special envoy of the Russian president, on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border was provoked by the Azerbaijani side. In an interview with the same radio station, Kazimirov himself has said he is not blaming Azerbaijan for what has happened. In his view, the attack was carried out by Armenian armed formations that are not under the control of the Armenian leadership.

Russian Energy Minister Meets With Aliyev in Baku

NC1911222993 Baku TURAN in English 1446 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 19 (TURAN)—Today Minister of Energetics [fuel and energy minister] of Russia Yuriy Shafranik has arrived in Baku. He told journalists that he arrived on the invitation of Azerbaijani Government to settle urgent energetic problems concerning both states.

President Yeltsin and Prime-Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin have given their blessings to my arrival in Baku, stressed Shafranik in the course of meeting with the President Geydar Aliyev.

As he told Russian Government considers bilateral relations in the field of energetics to be of vital interest.

Minister of energetics pointed out, delegation would present ten concrete proposals on Russian-Azerbaijan cooperation in field of oil-gas development and oil engineering industry.

Correspondent of TURAN asked if Russia be included into the consortium of foreign companies on development of oil-fields on the Caspian Sea. Shafranik asked that Russia proposes the participation share of Russian oil company Lukoil in this consortium be 20 per cent.

Russia also forwarded a proposal on the route of export pipeline from Azerbaijan. He told that they had two variants. First one is to set pipeline through north Caucasus to Novorosiysk, the second one is two join to pipeline Druzhba. If Azerbaijan agree, next year we can start transportation of oil. In this case volume of capital investments will make 4 mln. dollars, told minister.

Shafranik also reported, that Kazakhstan agreed to join this pipeline in the region to the north of Astrakhan. As far as Turkmenistan concerns, we have not discussed this matter yet, added Shafranik.

In the course of the meeting with G. Aliyev minister of energetics of Russia pointed out, that breaking-off relations between Azerbaijan and Russia seriously influenced economy of both states. Russia hopes that relations between two countries will be restored and strengthened. As Shafranik told, Russia welcomed improvement of relations between Azerbaijan and Russia after Geydar Aliyev's coming to the power.

Speaking with TURAN's correspondent Shafranik stressed, that energetic agreement with Russia was connected with political matters. It will have an effect on the other aspects of relations between two states, stressed Yuri Shafranik.

Shafranik's visit to Baku followed right after meeting of president G. Aliyev with deputy minister of energetics of the USA William White. Last night Shafranik was urgently called by President Yeltsin and sent to Baku.

It should be pointed out that these meetings passed simultaneously with lasting for a week confidential talks of special envoy of Russian president to the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh Vladimir Kazimirov with top leadership of Azerbaijan.

Views Oil Cooperation

NC2011175993 Baku TURAN in English 1254 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 20, (TURAN)—Business talks of Russian Minister of [Fuel and] Energy Yuriy Shafranik with the leadership of the Azerbaijan Republic continue. Yesterday, after the meeting with Geydar Aliyev, the First Vice-Premier Abbas Abbasov was empowered to negotiate with the Russian minister of energy further on. President of the Russian joint-stock Lukoil Oil Company V. Alekberov [name as received] and president of the State Oil Company (Socar) N. Aliyev also participate in the talks.

As Yuriy Shafranik said yesterday during the meeting with G. Aliyev, the parties will discussed all the current proposals today during the daytime, and by the evening the results of the talks will be presented to G. Aliyev.

As reported, the Russian minister proposes to increase the share of participation of Russia in the consortium with the Western countries up to 20 [percent]. But as Y. Shafranik told TURAN's reporter we will join the consortium with as big share as Azerbaijan offers us.

Today Y. Shafranik told TURAN's reporter that the majority of business proposals of Russia concerns the restoration of the broken off links in the sphere of engineering industry. 80 [percent] of oil engineering industry products of Azerbaijan were shipping to the Russian market and having broken off the links with us, they turned out to be in crisis. At this stage we are ready to back this industry, to create the circumstances for the modernization of the Azeri engineering industry, and then the Russian enterprises could buy its products.

Answering the question on the benefit of the cooperation with Lukoil the Russian minister of energy said our proposals are much more advantageous than the American ones, because Lukoil is backed by the Russian engineering industry and transport communications which are much more nearer to Azerbaijan than the American ones, besides our manpower is much cheaper.

[Baku TURAN at 1255 GMT on 20 November carries the following related report:

["Baku, November 20 (TURAN)—A meeting of the representatives of Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan concerning the problems of oil production will take place either in Baku or in Moscow early

December, Russian Minister of Energy Yuriy Shafranik told TURAN's reporter. As the minister said, the problems of the further cooperation of the four countries on oil and gas production, as well at the problem of shipment of gas and oil to the world market will be discussed at the meeting.

["The route of oil pipe-line from central Asia to Europe will be also in the agenda, Shafranik said. According to Shafranik's words, Russia has got a worked out project, according to which the oil pipe-line from Tengiz oil field in Kazakhstan will be laid in the north of Astrakhan and will be linked to Druzhba pipe-line. Russian proposals on the route of the oil pipe-line is ten times advantageous than the American ones, Yuriy Shafranik said."]

Firms Sign Oil Accords

NC2011171693 Baku TURAN in English 1254 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 20 (TURAN)—A pack of documents on cooperation between the Russian Lukoil Oil Company and the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (Socar) is signed today in Baku. President of Lukoil Vahid Alekberov [name as received] and President of Socar Natig Aliyev signed the contracts.

Right before the signing of the contract the press was removed from the hall. The causes of this action were not explained.

One can suggest that the leadership of Azerbaijan is not interested in divulgement of the character and content of the documents. The matter is, that these agreements envisage a serious changes in the share of participation of the Western oil companies in the joint exploration of the Caspian oil fields.

As the Russian Minister of [Fuel and] Energy Yuriy Shafranik told TURAN's reporter yesterday, the Russian party counts on 20 [percent] of share in the consortium of the Western oil companies. But he did not give any details what he meants by 20—the participation in investigations or in benefits.

This morning speaker Rasul Guliyev received Y. Shafrannik. During the talk Shafrannik said Russia considers the creation of the fuel bank, which will finance the oil cooperation within the framework of the CIS to be advisable. To his words, the Ukraine, which is ready to allot $50 million U.S. for this purpose, have already agreed to this. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, whose share can make 20 to 30 million dollars accordingly also agreed to the idea. Shafrannik stressed that everyone would greet Azerbaijan's joining this bank.

One of the members of the Russian delegation told TURAN's reporter this event can be qualified as a step towards the creation of the united organization of oil producing republics of the former USSR under the umbrella of Russia, which will be an analogous to OPEC.

Karabakh Says Baku Uses Afghan Mercenaries

MK1911143093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 18/20 19-25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 18 Nov) p 2

[Eduard Avetisyan report under the "War" rubric: "Mojahedin Fight Against Karabakh"]

[Text] They claim at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's [NKR] Information and Press Department that Afghan mercenaries are fighting on the Azerbaijani side.

They are even ready to show material evidence: personnel lists of Azerbaijani units made up of Afghans, military instructions in Pashto and Dari, handwritten dictionaries, religious literature, unsent letters, and photos. The Karabakhis claim that the trophies were seized by the NKR defense forces in recent combat operations in Dzhebrail and Fizuli districts of Azerbaijan.

The Afghan mojahedin (over 1,000 people) are fighting primarily in artillery units, the Karabakh side believes. They were hired in order to reinforce the crippled Azerbaijani army. According to NKR defense fighters, mujahidin prefer death to being taken prisoner. For instance, three beleaguered Afghans shot themselves. Karabakh soldiers recall that a lot of dead mujahidin bodies were carried away by Azerbaijani servicemen during their retreat—they saw this themselves. However, up to 70 dead bodies still remained on the territory presently controlled by the Armenian side. It is on them that the documents were found. Similar "tangible evidence" was found in the barracks outside the village of Goradiz on the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. According to information obtained from prisoners, there are also Afghans among combat helicopter pilots, most of whom have undergone specialized training in Pakistan—in Peshawar and Punjab. The prisoners said also that Afghan instructors train Azerbaijani soldiers from special-purpose troops at a former Airborne Division base of the Russian Air Force.

Nagorno-Karabakh To Introduce Armenian Currency

LD2111121993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Spartak Tevosyan, finance minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, has announced that the monetary unit adopted by neighboring Armenia—dram—is to be introduced into circulation in the next few days. Stepanakert has already received the required number of the new monetary units that will replace Russian rubles. In connection with the transition to the new monetary units, the financial activity of banks and state retail shops is being suspended for several days.

Government Discusses 'Radical Reforms' for Economy

LD2011201493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1814 GMT 1728 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] An expanded session of the heads of state and businesslike structures chaired by Geydar Aliyev and held on Friday in Baku discussed issues on radical reforms in Azerbaijan's economy and transfer to the market.

The president has proposed to announce moratorium on any planned verifications on the part of state and law enforcement bodies, by issuing a special decree or governmental resolution, as the first move which would free Azerbaijan's undertaking potential and will help to really assess its capabilities.

Simultaneously it is necessary to introduce serious correctives into the acting decrees in taxation and customs tariffs. In addition, it was proposed to implement a complex of measures to regulate currency and export-import operations in order to liberalize them to the maximum. According to Aliyev, this will create appropriate conditions for a truly civilized currency market and increased flow of currency into the republic, thus, ensuring necessary premises for stabilization of national currency.

Over the last few days the manat's exchange rate with respect to dollar has sharply fallen, namely from 180 to 250 manats per dollar.

In addition, interest rates for centralized credits of the National Bank of Azerbaijan are to be revised as well. Today they constitute interest at the rate of 50% per annum. The milli-mejlis (parliament) and Cabinet of Ministers have been commissioned to shortly prepare privatization program, including trading of enterprises.

"As we have decided to choose the course of market economy, we must risk," summarized Aliyev.

Georgia

Troops Continue To Concentrate Along Abkhaz Border

LD1911172893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Nov

[Text] The situation in the area of confrontation between Georgia and Abkhazia remains extremely tense. Georgian troops continue to concentrate along the Inguri river dividing Georgia from Abkhazia. Observers note that Georgian Government forces have amassed a large quantity of armor. Georgia's Air Force is carrying out reconnaissance flights over the positions of the Abkhazian armed units.

In its turn, the Abkhazian side is working hard to strengthen the border. This is evidence that Abkhazia does not rule out a repeat armed invasion of its territory by Georgian troops.

Sukhumi official circles are awaiting a reply from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to their request to deploy Russian troops based in Abkhazia as a peace-keeping force along the border with Georgia. The Georgian side has officially announced that the government troops are concentrating in order to prevent penetrations by the remains of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's armed units, which are located on the territory of the Abkhazian Republic.

The Georgian war department is concerned that Zviadists may have joined units of the Abkhazian Army. The Abkhazian side has stated categorically that neither ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, nor his people are on the territory of Abkhazia.

In the meantime, in western Georgia, the situation is gradually returning to normal. The port in the town of Poti is working as usual. Over the past 24 hours, two trains carrying cargo for Tbilisi were dispatched from the town.

Tbilisi Denies Plotting Abkhazia Invasion

LD2111175193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1625 GMT 21 Nov 93

[by GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi November 21 TASS—The Georgian Defence Ministry's press office denied the allegations by the Abkhazian side saying Georgia was scheming an invasion into Abkhazia and for this purpose massing up its troops on the Inguri river.

The defence ministry said in a statement on Sunday that the numerical strength of troops presently deployed in western Georgia was enough just "to liquidate Gamsakhurdia bands". According to information of the ministry, cases of crossing the Inguri river have become more frequent lately. Thus, a group of five Abkhazian and Chechen militants was captured two weeks ago near the village of Rukhi. They had crossed to the Inguri left bank to engineer acts of sabotage there. "separatists often open fire, burst into villages in the Zugdidi and Tsalendzhikh districts, and the village of Ganardzhias-Mukhuri on the Inguri right bank was fully occupied by them", the statement noted adding that the ousted president's supporters kill civilians, set houses on fire, go around plundering and committing other crimes in those villages, as well as in Georgian-populated areas in Abkhazia.

Abkhazians Blow Up Inguri Bridge; Village Occupied

LD1911175293 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] According to Georgia's Defense Ministry press center, the village of Ganamukhumi in the Zugdidi rayon, which is situated on the right bank of the Inguri River, has been completely occupied by Abkhaz combatants and the confederation of mountain peoples members.

They have blown up a bridge over the Inguri. The occupants are looting the village. There have been instances of banditry assaults on the Georgian population forcing them to leave their homes.

Abkhazia Denies Reports of POW 'Concentration Camps'

LD1911154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1322 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchogoleva]

[Text] Sochi, November 19 (TASS)—The press service of the Abkhazian Defence Ministry has issued a statement denying reports that there are concentration camps for Georgian war prisoners in Gudauta and in the village of Bzyb, where four thousand men are allegedly being kept. "Such reports are untrue," the document says.

Georgian troops and armour are being concentrated along the other side of the Inguri River, the border between Abkhazia and Georgia, ITAR-TASS was informed today by officials of the press service of the Abkhasian Supreme Soviet. According to information received from the same source, armed groups have stepped up their activities in Gali district. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Abkhazia were able to block off some other groups active in the Kodor gorge.

Gamsakhurdia's Deputy Commander Surrenders

LD1911210193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1932 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By GIA news agency correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi November 19 TASS—Soso Zhgenti, deputy commander of the armed groups of the ex-president's supporters, who commanded the Guti-Imereti regiment, surrendered to Georgian security bodies.

Upon downing arms, Zhgenti appeared on Georgian Television, urging all like-minded people to follow suit, a Georgian news agency correspondent reported on Friday night.

Earlier Givi Lominadze, state minister for the affairs of western Georgia, called upon the remnants of anti-government forces hiding in the forests of western Georgia, to abandon resistance and surrender their arms.

The government troops possess all necessary means to disarm the rebels if their answer is negative, the state minister said according to ITAR-TASS correspondent in Zugdidi.

Shevardnadze Elected Head of New Party

LD2111213293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1245 GMT 21 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 21 TASS—A new political party "The Union of Georgian Citizens" was set up in Tbilisi on Sunday.

The party was initiated by Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze several months ago. He pointed out that the party should unite progressive forces of the republic "oriented at the development of democratic processes and national salvation."

Leaders of the newly established party have been elected at its founding conference today. Eduard Shevardnadze was elected the party's chairman, and Zurab Zhvania, leader of the "Green" Party, was elected its general secretary. A programme and a charter of the party are expected to be adopted at its congress scheduled to take place in two months.

Shevardnadze declared the priority goal of the new party is carrying out radical economic reforms and restoring Georgian territorial integrity, by which he meant the return of Abkhazia.

The party adopted a declaration of the Union of Georgian Citizens which outlined the party's main goal and tasks. Local observers expect the party to become a leading political force in Georgia.

Addresses Party's Founding Session

LD2111221893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 93

["Excerpt" from head of state Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at the founding of Union of Georgian Citizens party; in Tbilisi on 21 November—recorded]

[Text] Justice and objectivity require saying that many political parties and political forces have emerged on this wave of destruction. Many found it hard to come to terms with entirely new circumstances, when the issue of construction, reconstruction, and the creation of a new state appeared on the agenda. Let us not argue with them about why this happened. It happened because it is hard to make a u-turn and embark on a new road. I believe that the majority of these parties will choose this course of reconstruction. Our union, the Citizens' Union of Georgia, should be an example for them.

One of the cornerstones and pillars of our union is formed by the movement called the Tbiliseli [People of Tbilisi] Union, together with the Unity and Prosperity Movement, the Green Party, and some other organizations which have already been named here. I would especially like to single out the Tbiliseli Movement. Batoni Rezo [not further identified] said that a new stage was beginning in the building of Georgia. If what he said is true, the people of Tbilisi must have a decisive say, which will signal the beginning of the new stage.

When we were in deep crisis, when forces [supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia] which are well known to you had approached Kutaisi, and when the people of Tbilisi did not feel secure either, it was then that the second meeting of the Tbiliseli convened. Yesterday I told my friends and colleagues that if it were not for that meeting, Samegrelo—and not only Samegrelo but also other areas then under their control—might have been in a different situation today. I must reveal to you, to make it public, that on that day, that morning, before I met you here, people of Tbilisi, I had almost lost all hope.

When foreigners [gadamtielebi] were attacking us in Abkhazia, I understood [words indistinct]. But when your brothers, your fellow countrymen, natives of this land, were attacking you and advancing towards Tbilisi, it was very hard to cope with these feelings. That meeting of people of Tbilisi filled all of us with strength. It filled me with some miraculous strength. It also filled the boys with strength, the fighters who liberated and cleaned our sacred land from the dirt and stench, which the former president and his [word indistinct] supporters [word indistinct]. It is not my habit to use such harsh words. I would like to address them, to use this address [to say] that the dark force should never return to Georgia. Never should the Georgian people support the dark force.

I would like to go on to say that the objective of this union, our Union of Georgian Citizens, is not destruction but construction, not another overthrow and toppling of authorities but the building, together with authorities, of a new democratic country. I think that our union's name, Citizens's Union, is full of meaning. It is not a pure party union, in the sense of parliament meetings. A citizen stands above parties. We are and will be a union of citizens of Georgia which will take the responsibility for building a new democratic country.

Shevardnadze Attends Tbilisi Bread Crisis Meeting

LD2011223193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Issues vital to the population of the capital [Tbilisi] have been discussed at a meeting of the city municipal cabinet of the Tbilisi mayor's office. Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of parliament of Georgia and head of state took part in the meeting.

As expected, a rather heated and interesting exchange of views took place during the discussion on measures to supply bread to the population of the capital—an issue of special focus at the meeting. It was said that bread production had fallen sharply recently, which had many objective reasons behind it. The timetable of bread deliveries to retail outlets was being frustrated.

Armed individuals freely enter unprotected bread plants. At best, they would force staff to sell them bread on the spot. This leads to total anarchy, as a result of which, large quantities of bread end up at farmers' markets and are sold there for an extortionate price.

The unanimous opinion of the participants at the meeting was that any measures would be meaningless, unless bread plants, flour plants, and bakeries were well-protected, which must be ensured by law enforcement bodies.

It was also stressed that at this time of crisis, the only way to supply bread to the population was to introduce bread rationing, which required quick and very serious action.

Participants at the meeting heard Shevardnadze's views concerning the above-mentioned issue. He severely criticized services that are failing to meet their obligations. He said that the fact that bread distribution is still taking place in a tense atmosphere testifies to the weakness of the executive power. The head of state entrusted appropriate services with the task of speeding up to the maximum the preparatory work for the introduction of bread rationing. He categorically demanded that from tomorrow, 600 tons of bread be distributed daily among shops in the capital.

As for the issue of protection, the head of state stressed that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic must solve this problem in a few days. At the same time, the republic's Defense Ministry cannot evade responsibility for all that is happening in the capital today. It should do everything to avert confrontation between the Armed Forces and the population. Every incident involving violence, banditry, and robbery must become a subject of criminal investigation. Everyone, regardless of their position, must be brought to account.

Shevardnadze stressed the importance of electricity supplies to bread plants. He said that cutting off electricity to these facilities was inadmissible and required the raising of the issue of personal responsibility.

The head of state said in conclusion that when the capital demands that we solve a problem, we should abide by its will. If the capital lives, breathes, and develops, Georgia will also live.

Shevardnadze Meets With Parliamentarians

LD2211072593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0657 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi November 22 TASS—After a two-month break caused by the state of emergency on the entire territory of Georgia, the parliament of the republic has resumed its work today. At a meeting scheduled for November 25, the parliament will discuss the extension of the state of emergency for another two months. The decision on the extension of the state of emergency was made at a meeting between the Georgian leader Eduard

Shevardnadze, representatives of the parliament's majority and parliament speaker Vakhtang Goguadze.

Shevardnadze and the parliamentarians exchanged views on the most pressing and vitally important problems in the life of the republic. Shevardnadze spoke in detail about the events which took place in western georgia, the present-day situation there and prospects for the final settlement of the conflict.

He said that life was returning to normal practically in all parts of the republic, mainly due to the state of emergency and special measures taken by the government. It is most important to bring this policy to completion, Shevardnadze said. He called for restoring order to Mingrelia, all parts of western Georgia and the republic as a whole in order to create all necessary preconditions for returning Abkhazia.

Eduard Shevardnadze supported the proposal made by participants in the meeting who called for giving a political evaluation at the forthcoming parliament session of everything that happened in Georgia's autonomy. The parliament majority also supported a proposal from the juridical commission of the parliament which requested putting on the agenda an item concerning the activity of the provisional committee for the state of emergency.

Black Sea Fleet's Guarding of Coast Reinforced

LD2111200093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1619 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] A large Black Sea Fleet anti-boat ship, the Krasnyy Kavkaz, is ready to head to Georgia on Sunday evening. This ship will guard the sea communications and antiaircraft defenses near Georgia's western coast. There are no marines on it, well-informed sources close to the Black Sea Fleet's headquarters, told Interfax.

As we reported earlier, Poti is guarded by the Black Sea Fleet's large amphibious ship. In the city there are 102 marines who guard the city's transportation routes, including motorways, railways and the port.

The eight ships of the Black Sea Fleet's grouping which took part in the peace-keeping mission in the west of Georgia, have finished the unloading of about 30 tanks and armored vehicles in the main base in Sevastopol. This equipment is being moved towards the places of permanent dislocation.

Security Ministry Holds First Expanded Meeting

LD2011225493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 2050 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The first meeting of an extended collegium was held at the newly formed republican Security Ministry. The participants at the meeting examined personnel and organizational issues, as well as the operational situation in western Georgia. Special attention was given to the setting up of regional branches of the structure and staffing them with professional specialists [words indistinct].

The collegium set specific measures to liquidate criminal gangs in western Georgia. Participants at the meeting said they were in favor of the deepening and widening of the process of reconciliation with members of illegal groups supporting the ex-president. The work carried out to achieve this has already produced positive results.

The collegium confirmed (Davit Baghdadze) and Soso Gogitidze as security ministers of Abkhazia and Ajaria respectively.

Interior Ministry Extends State of Emergency

LD2011172693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1610 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] The period of the state of emergency in Tbilisi expired today. In this connection, a state of emergency headquarters meeting has been held. It decided to extend the state of emergency. Here is a topical commentary by a Georgian Deputy Interior Minister Demuri Mikadze.

[Begin recording] [Mikadze] Since the operational situation remains complex both in western Georgia and Tbilisi, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has decided to extend these measures. As you know, Georgian Interior Ministry forces and resources are concentrated in western Georgia, particularly in Samtredia, Abasha, Senaki, Zugdidi, Tsalenjikha, and Chkhorotsku. These forces are now under the command of a Deputy Interior Minister Major General Gulua. We are sure that both in Tbilisi and western Georgia the situation will [word indistinct].

[Unidentified reporter] With the criminal situation in mind, the situation is gradually improving. What are the prospects? What has been planned for the future? What measures will be taken to further stabilize the situation?

[Mikadze] I think that the listeners know that under the command of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the leadership of the city of Tbilisi, Interior Ministry troops, with the participation of the city police, have been deployed. Armored equipment has also appeared in the city. This testifies to the existence of a special plan under which the Ministry of Internal Affairs guarantees to improve the situation in the city of Tbilisi. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Receives Russian Ambassador

LD1911202293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By GIA news agency correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi November 19 TASS—Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze received Vladimir Zemskiy, the Russian ambassador to Georgia, on Friday. The two sides pointed out that Russo-Georgian relations are returning back to normal.

The ambassador explained that in the efforts to settle conflicts peacefully Russia as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, has no other goal but to secure an end to bloodshed in the areas of conflict on the territory of the former Soviet Union, as soon as possible.

As far as the Abkhazian issue is concerned, Russia abides by the U.N. Security Council resolutions and regards their provisions as the basis for talks in Geneva.

The minister expressed understanding of Russia's position on the conflicts settlement issue, pointing out that one of the main problems now is to create effective mechanisms to bring refugees back home. He voiced hope that the Russian side would regard this major problem with full understanding.

Russia To Send Equipment to Police

LD2111214793 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Shota Kviraia, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia, visited Moscow recently and met the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. They discussed cooperation between the two ministries and joint measures to combat crime. The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia expressed readiness to help the Georgian police with weapons, special purpose equipment, and other items.

A letter addressed to Minister Shota Kviraia arrived at Georgia's Ministry of Internal Affairs yesterday.

The letter says: The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation has carefully studied your request for military equipment and transport and communications facilities, and finds it possible to supply equipment from its resources to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Respectfully, Army General Viktor Yerin, Russian Federation Minister of Internal Affairs